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**MORETTO AND ROMANINO: RELIGIOUS PAINTING
IN BRESCIA 1510-1550. IDENTITY IN THE SHADOW
OF *LA SERENISSIMA*.**

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of Art.

University of Warwick, Department of History of Art

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Contents

Contents	i
List of Illustrations	iii
List of Tables	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
Dedication	xi
Abstract	xii
List of Abbreviations	xiii
Introduction	1
1 Brescia in the Shadow of <i>La Serenissima</i> 1426-1516	30
I Historical Outline, 1426-1516	34
II. Conditions within Brescia: Brescia under Venetian Rule	46
III. The Renaissance City and Its Appearance	60
IV Vincenzo Foppa and the Origins of the Brescian School Of Painting	71
2 Romanino and the Congregation of Santa Giustina, 1513-1559	78
3 Fashioning a Corporate Identity: Moretto and the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga 1540-1550	114
Moretto and the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga in Brescia	131
4 Eucharistic Imagery I: Moretto, Romanino and the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia, 1521-24	147

Introduction	148
The Decoration of the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia	153
5 Eucharistic Imagery II: Moretto and the ‘Eucharistic Christ’	189
Conclusion	227
Appendices	245
I Table of Incomes	247
II Contracts	251
1. Contract for the Chapel of the Sacrament, S. Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia	252
2. Romanino’s Contracts	254
3. Moretto’s Contracts	260
Chronology	263
Bibliography	287
Illustrations	319

List of Illustrations

1. Romanino, Gerolamo, St. Matthew, oil on canvas, cm 210.5x 102.5. Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia. 1521-1524.
2. Leonardo da Vinci, Last Supper, mixed media. Refectory, S. Maria delle Grazie, Milan. 1495-1497.
3. Luini, Bernardino, Christ among the Doctors, oil on poplar, cm 72.4x 85.7. National Gallery, London, NG 18. 1515-1530.
4. Romanino, Gerolamo, Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints and Donors, oil on panel, cm 324x 191.5 (with frame 600x 350). High Altarpiece, San Francesco d'Assisi, Brescia. 1517.
5. Romanino, Gerolamo, The Carriage of Phaeton, fresco. Cortile dei Leoni, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trent. 1531-1532.
6. Moretto, Sts. Faustino and Giovita on horseback, tempera on canvas, cm 485x 215 (each). Santa Maria in Valvendra, Lovere. 1518.
7. Dossi, Dosso, Costabili Polyptych, oil on panel. Main panel cm 476x242; lower side panels 245x 105; spandrels 160x 104x 210; pinnacle 167x 104. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Ferrara, 189-194. 1513-1514.
8. Anon., Map of the Bresciano. 1695.
9. Anon., Monument to Sts. Faustino and Giovita (reverse), Botticino marble, cm 175x 72. Via Brigida Avogadro, Brescia. Ca. 1585.
10. Anon., Monument to Sts. Faustino and Giovita (obverse), Botticino marble, cm 175x 72. Via Brigida Avogadro, Brescia. Ca. 1585.
11. Anon., Marble Relief with Sts. Faustino, Giovita and Honorius, Vezza d'Oglio marble, cm 190x 232. Santa Giulia, Brescia. End of 15th century.
12. Anon., Marble Relief with Sts. Faustino and Giovita led to the Judge, Botticino marble, cm 179x 248.5. Santa Giulia, Brescia. End of 15th century.
13. Anon., Map of Brescia, watercolour on parchment. BQB ms.H.V.5. 1472.
14. Reconstruction of Brescia's appearance in 1426. From Luchesi Ragni (1998): 24-25.
15. Palazzo della Loggia, Brescia. Started 1493.
16. Ferramola, Floriano, A Tournament in Brescia, fresco transferred to canvas. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. 1516.

17. Loggia dei Monti di Pietà, Brescia. 1488.
18. Leonardo da Vinci, Madonna of the Rocks, oil on wood, cm 189.5x 120. National Gallery, London, NG 1093. Ca. 1508.
19. Foppa, Vincenzo, Virgin and Child with Saint and the donors, Giovan Matteo Bottigella and Bianca Visconti, tempera and oil on panel, cm 176x 122. Musei Civici del Castello, Pavia. 1485-1490.
20. Moretto, Murder of the Innocents, oil on panel transferred to canvas, cm 231x 141. S. Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia. 1531-32.
21. Romanino, Gerolamo, Virgin and Child with Saints (Pala Giustina), oil on panel, cm 677x 403. Museo Civico, Padua, n. 669. 1513.
22. Romanino, Gerolamo, Last Supper, oil on canvas, cm 318x 412. Museo Civico, Padua, n. 663. 1513.
23. Romanino, Gerolamo, Mass of St. Apollonius, oil on panel, transferred to canvas, cm 306x 202.5. Santa Maria in Calchera, Brescia. 1521-1522.
24. Romanino, Gerolamo, Christ before Caiaphas and The Flagellation of Christ, frescoes. Cathedral, Cremona. 1519.
25. Gritti, Pompeo, Bernardino da Feltre, oil on canvas. Santa Maria in Calchera, Brescia. Ca. 1730.
26. Romanino, Gerolamo, Mass of St. Apollonius, oil on canvas, cm 253x 153. SS. Faustino e Giovita, Brescia. 1544-1545.
27. Romanino, Gerolamo, Mass of St. Apollonius, oil on panel, cm 81x 91. Private Collection, Florence. 1547-1548.
28. Romanino, Gerolamo, Resurrection, oil on canvas, cm 253x 153. SS. Faustino e Giovita, Brescia. 1544-1545.
29. Romanino, Gerolamo, Resurrection, oil on panel, cm 236.4x 125.6. SS. Gervasio e Protasio, Capriolo. 1526.
30. Titian, Resurrection Polyptych, oil on canvas, cm 278x 122 (centre), 170x 65 each (lower tier), 79x 65 each (upper tier). SS. Nazaro e Celso, Brescia. 1519-1522.
31. Romanino, Gerolamo, Chapel of St. Obizio, fresco. San Salvatore, Brescia. 1526-1530.
32. Moretto, Christ in Glory consigning the keys to St. Peter and the Book of Doctrines to St. Paul, oil on canvas, cm 225x 125. S. Nicola, Rodengo. Ca. 1540.
33. Moretto, Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Joseph and Francis, and Sts. Jerome, Louis of Toulouse, Anthony of Padua, Claire, and the donor

- Uberto Gambara, oil on canvas, cm 356x 225. Sant'Andrea Apostolo, Pralboino (Brescia). 1540-1545.
34. Moretto, Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Hippolytus and Catherine of Alexandria, oil on canvas, cm 229x 133. National Gallery, London, NG 1165. 1540.
 35. Moretto, Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Catherine of Alexandria, Lucy, Cecilia, Barbara and Agnes, oil on canvas, cm 288x 193. San Giorgio in Braida, Verona. 1540.
 36. Romanino, Gerolamo, The Martyrdom of St. George (shutters open), tempera on canvas, cm 453x 245. San Giorgio in Braida, Verona. 1540.
 37. Romanino, Gerolamo, The Martyrdom of St. George (shutters open), tempera on canvas, cm 453x 245. San Giorgio in Braida, Verona. 1540.
 38. Romanino, Gerolamo, St. George before the Judges (shutters closed), tempera on canvas, cm 453x 494. San Giorgio in Braida, Verona. 1540.
 39. Moretto, Virgin and Child in Glory with St. John the Evangelist, the Blessed Lodovico Giustiniani and the Allegory of Divine Wisdom, oil on canvas, cm 272x 190. Chapel of the Palazzo Vescovile, Brescia. 1545-1550.
 40. Moretto, detail of 39: the Blessed Lodovico Giustiniani and the Allegory of Divine Wisdom,
 41. Moretto, The Trinity Crowning the Virgin, Sts. Peter and Paul and the Allegories of Peace and Justice, oil on canvas, cm 368x205. Centro Pastorale Paolo VI, Brescia. 1550.
 42. Moretto, detail of 40: the angel with the tablets of stone.
 43. Moretto, The Flight of Simon Magus (shutters open), tempera on canvas, cm 446x 243.5. Seminario Diocesano, Brescia. 1550.
 44. Moretto, The Fall of Simon Magus (shutters open), tempera on canvas, cm 446x 243.8. Seminario Diocesano, Brescia, 1550.
 45. Moretto, Sts. Peter and Paul supporting the edifice of the Church (shutters closed), cm 446x 399. Seminario Diocesano, Brescia. 1550.
 46. Moretto, Elijah and the Angel, oil on canvas, cm 211x 243. Right Wall, Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia. 1521-1524.
 47. Moretto, Gathering of Manna, oil on canvas, cm 211x 248.4. Right Wall, Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia. 1521-1524.

48. Moretto, The Last Supper, oil on canvas, cm 271.5x 564 (lunette) Right Wall, Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia 1521-1524.
49. Moretto, The Prophet David, oil on canvas, cm 130x 128. Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia. 1521-1524
50. Moretto, The Evangelist St. Luke, oil on canvas, cm 211x 102 Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia. 1521-1524
51. Romanino, Gerolamo, The Miracle of the Eucharist, oil on canvas, cm 264x 565 (lunette). Left Wall, Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia. 1521-1524.
52. Romanino, Gerolamo, The Raising of Lazarus, oil on canvas, cm 211x 241.5. Left Wall, Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia. 1521-1524.
53. Romanino, Gerolamo, The Supper in the House of the Pharisee, oil on canvas, cm 211x 241.5. Left Wall, Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia. 1521-1524.
54. Moretto, Eucharistic Christ with Sts. Cosmas and Damian, oil on canvas, cm 261x 160. SS. Cosma e Damiano, Marmentino (Brescia). 1540.
55. Moretto, Eucharistic Christ with Sts. Bartholomew and Roch, oil on canvas, cm 254x 175. San Bartolomeo Apostolo, Pralboino (Brescia). 1545.
56. Caravaggio, Madonna of Loreto, oil on canvas, cm 260x 150. Sant'Agostino, Rome, 1603-1606.

List of Tables

Table 1	Income from the <i>terra ferma</i> in Venetian Budgets, 1469	57
Table 2	Romanino's Works for the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua	79
Table 3	Moretto's Works for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga	116

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Abstract

This thesis examines several works of religious content produced by the Brescian painters Gerolamo Romano, Il Romanino (1484/87-1559) and Alessandro Bonvicino, Il Moretto (1498-1554), produced for patrons and locations in Brescia between 1510 and 1550. This enquiry has drawn on little used historical material in order to integrate the discussion of the images into a wider social and historical context.

The key aim of this study is to establish how Romanino and Moretto defined a Brescian identity in art. This will be argued by using two different approaches in order to examine the existence, and the manifestations, of such a local identity. One approach taken in this study is to look at groups of corporate patrons and to consider the works executed for them in terms of similarities of content. Chapters 2 and 3 in turn consider the works executed by Romanino and Moretto for the Congregations of Santa Giustina of Padua, and of San Giorgio in Alga. The second approach adopted for the purposes of examination of strategies for the establishment of a Brescian visual identity employed in this study is to focus on representations of the Eucharist. It will be shown that Moretto developed a new visual motif of the 'Eucharistic Christ' in response to the growing popularity of the Forty Hours devotion in Brescia.

List of Abbreviations

Archives and Libraries:

ADB	Archivio del Duomo, Brescia
ACS	Archivio Comunale di Salò
ASB	Archivio di Stato di Brescia
ASCB	Archivio Storico Comunale di Brescia
ASP	Archivio di Stato di Padova
ASV	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BQB	Biblioteca Queriniana, Brescia

Journals:

AB	Art Bulletin
AC	<u>Arte Cristiana</u>
AH	<u>Art History</u>
AJ	<u>Art Journal</u>
AL	<u>Arte Lombarda</u>
ASI	<u>Archivio Storico Italiano</u>
ASL	<u>Archivio Storico Lombardo</u>
AV	<u>Archivio Veneto (formerly Archivio Veneto-Tridentino)</u>
AVe	<u>Arte Veneta</u>
BdA	<u>Bollettino d'Arte</u>
BS	<u>Brixia Sacra</u>

<u>BM</u>	<u>Burlington Magazine</u>
<u>CAB</u>	<u>Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia</u>
<u>DBI</u>	<u>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</u>
<u>GBA</u>	<u>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</u>
<u>JWCI</u>	<u>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</u>
<u>MKHIF</u>	<u>Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz</u>
<u>MSDB</u>	<u>Memorie Storiche della Diocesi di Brescia</u>
<u>Pg</u>	<u>Paragone</u>
<u>RQ</u>	<u>Renaissance Quarterly</u>
<u>RS</u>	<u>Renaissance Studies</u>
<u>RSB</u>	<u>Rivista Storica Benedettina</u>
<u>RSI</u>	<u>Rivista Storica Italiana</u>
<u>RSC</u>	<u>Rivista della Storia della Chiesa in Italia</u>
<u>SCH</u>	<u>Studies in Church History</u>
<u>SCJ</u>	<u>Sixteenth Century Journal</u>
<u>ZfKg</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte</u>

Introduction

Romanino ...questioned the classical canon by introducing into his paintings elements borrowed from contemporary German art. [...] Indeed, in their attempts to undermine or at least challenge the High Renaissance canon, as best represented in the North of Italy by Bembo and Titian, with their heterodox experiments both Folengo and Romanino shared the same intellectual goals. Far from being the product of 'provincial' artists unable to maintain the pace of their more distinguished colleagues, Folengo's and Romanino's works were conscious statements made during a crucial and extremely ambiguous period in Italian cultural history.¹

¹ Nova (1994b): 678.

Gerolamo Romano, called Il Romanino (1484/87-1559) and the younger Alessandro Bonvicino, called Il Moretto (c.1498-1554) can not be ranked amongst the canonical painters of sixteenth-century Italy. Nevertheless, looking at some of the religious works produced by these painters highlights the circumstances affecting the production of art in sixteenth-century Brescia. The period of activity of these two Brescian-born painters spans the first half of a turbulent century of substantial changes ranging from warfare to the developments concomitant with the Reformation. These affected the socio-political and religious make-up of Italian society, and in turn, the production of art. This thesis will discuss a number of commissions carried out by these two painters in order to discuss trends in painting in Brescia in the first half of the sixteenth-century. The discussion will take two different approaches. Firstly, the long-standing associations of the painters with the patronage of a specific group of patrons will be considered in order to determine which factors determined the preference of the patrons for one of the artists. This approach will be applied to Chapters Two and Three, where the championing of Romanino by the Benedictine Congregation of Santa Giustina and Moretto's association with the Augustinian Canons of San Giorgio in Alga will be considered in detail. Then the emphasis of the enquiry will shift in Chapters Four and Five from the speculation on patrons to a consideration of favourite subject matter. Eucharistic subjects were generally popular in Brescia, yet one commission takes a prime place amongst such works. Between 1521-1524, Romanino and Moretto collaborated on the ambitious project to decorate the Chapel of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista with a total of 22 canvasses. This scheme is amongst the earliest in

Northern Italy where canvasses instead of frescoes were used for the decoration of the lateral walls. The subject matter and use of framed easel paintings for the Brescian chapel became seminal for later Chapels of the Sacrament throughout the *Veneto*. The final chapter of the thesis is concerned with representations of a new devotional trend of the 1540s, the *Quarant'Ore*, or Forty Hours devotion. The *Quarant'Ore* involves the perpetual adoration of the displayed host by a minimum of two worshippers for a period of forty hours. First recorded in Milan in 1527, the practice became popular in Brescia after its introduction there in 1536, and by 1540 Moretto had developed a new visual motif that reflected the practice in altarpieces. His images of the Eucharistic Christ, created for such patrons as the devout and aggressively anti-heretical Donato Savallo, perfectly capture attitudes prevalent amongst a group of patrons in Brescia. These chapters are placed against the background of developments in the town itself. Chapter One establishes the political situation in sixteenth-century Brescia, and in particular, its relationship with its political overlord, Venice.

These artistic developments in Brescia are further placed into the context of the Counter Reformation. The need to respond to Protestant attacks on the legitimacy of the use of images in churches resulted in experimentation with existing motifs as well as the introduction of new ones. These were largely concerned with the affirmation of tenets of faith which had come under attack, in particular, mariological imagery and representations of the saints as intercessors. The third category of images which was popular throughout the first few decades of the sixteenth-century were depictions of the sacrifice of Christ, with an emphasis on

underlining the relevance of this sacrifice in the celebration of mass. Against this general background of concerns, it becomes necessary to place particularly local preoccupations with patron saints, relics and cults. These were not only of religious importance, but, equally important, manifestations of a distinctive civic identity.

The outline of artistic developments in larger centres such as Rome, Florence, Milan and Naples is a familiar one, and scholarly attention has now begun to turn to a study of the numerous regional courts and centres of Italy.² This is an encouraging trend for the scholar working on the many provincial centres that often did not support a court. The dependence of provincial painters on imported models, whether via the medium of print, or through first hand experience of works from one of the larger and artistically 'superior' centres is still not sufficiently understood.³ In particular, the motivations behind the adoption of a certain model in favour of others needs further investigation. One of the suggestions advanced in this thesis is the hypothesis that political dependency and sympathies influence the choice of a fashionable style (see discussion in Chapter One). In the case of Brescia this can be clearly seen in the rejection of Milanese models and the favouring of Venetian artists and Venetian-influenced styles by patrons. Some, such as Altobello Averoldi, even went as far as importing Venetian art. The most successful painters in the town in the period under discussion were Romanino and Moretto. Both are numbered by art historians and critics amongst Venetian painters. While clearly influenced by Venetian models, though, the two painters did retain stylistic characteristics that marked them as Brescian. It will be argued that these particularities of their

² See, for example Welch (1997); Hall (1999); Cole (1995); Hollingsworth (1994); Brown (1996); Partridge (1996). For examples of work on the lesser centres, see Knox (1998).

respective styles were of importance to patrons who sought to project a Brescian visual identity. It is noteworthy in this context to emphasise Romanino and Moretto's dependence on Venetian models, and in particular Titian. Yet they succeeded in putting their very own and distinctive interpretation on their models which differed so much in the end result, that few patrons employed both of them. Instead, patrons employed either Romanino or Moretto. Availability of the painters seemed less important in this context than stylistic and, arguably, spiritual preferences. Such a comparative approach has never been undertaken in the study of Brescian sixteenth-century painting. As the sixteenth-century progressed, art in Brescia increasingly came to be produced by Brescians, and the emphasis was on a celebration of Brescian history and identity, and thus on a tradition distinctive from that of Venice and of Milan.

In recent scholarship, a number of studies have started to challenge the still popular model of the Renaissance as a re-birth of humanism, and a discovery of the (male) individual. The application of these findings has again been largely restricted to the big centres, with most of the smaller regional centres still awaiting sustained investigation and reconsideration.³ There are distinct advantages though for the study of relatively smaller regional centres. These promise a much clearer insight into patterns of change and development. While some of these findings may initially be defined by specifically local circumstances, any results can, with proper consideration, be projected beyond local limitations to feed back into the discussion of the larger centres. The study of centres such as Brescia can thus provide valuable

³ One noteworthy exception for Brescia is Bayer (1998): 219-240.

case studies whose findings can provide models for the exploration of aspects of patronage in the bigger centres.

Brescia has been chosen as the focus for this study for a number of reasons, some of which have already been mentioned: the opportunity of comparing the output of two contemporary painters and the fact that the town never supported a court. In addition, major political changes affected the town in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that led to altered conditions for patronage, and ultimately resulted in the distinctive art of Romanino and Moretto. Under the rule of *La Serenissima*, Brescia's arms industry flourished, which contributed to the military significance the town held for Venice. Added to this, the town contributed almost a quarter of *terra ferma* revenues to Venetian fiscal coffers. The conditions which made Brescia a valuable addition to the Republic will be established in Chapter One. This period coincides on the one hand with the artistic maturity of these two artists, yet it also spans a number of events deeply affecting Brescia and its citizens, such as foreign occupation between 1509-16; major changes to the appearance of the town brought about through a clearing of suburbs; the debates surrounding the arrival of the Reformation and its literature in Northern Italy. In addition, during the first half of the sixteenth-century, the town was big enough to offer enough employment for local artists, though it was never large enough to attract major foreign artists for any period of time. Titian, for example, was called on to execute a number of

¹ Goldthwaite (1993) and Lisa Jardine's maverick Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance, London and Basingstoke, 1996.

commissions, yet he never settled in Brescia, and as was his practice, remained in Venice.⁵

This study will be limited to the discussion of religious works in order to facilitate the discussion of similarities and differences in the output of Romanino and Moretto. The majority of works discussed will be altarpieces, mostly produced between 1510-1550. The narrow and liturgically defined framework for the display and use of religious works allows for a meaningful discussion of any new developments within this genre of painting such as, for example, the introduction of new motifs, or changes made to familiar types of compositions. This applies even more to the special category of the altarpiece, with its narrowly definable uses and conditions of viewing. Indeed, at the same time as being a closely circumscribed genre of painting, it is precisely the altarpiece that developed into one of the most dynamic vehicles for the expression of changes in religious subject matter.⁶ It becomes possible, in turn, to relate visual developments affecting the composition of altarpieces to contemporary sixteenth-century political and social events. One example for this trend, Moretto's Murder of the Innocents (fig.20) situates the slaughter of the children of Bethlehem in the clearly recognisable Piazza della Loggia of Brescia as a poignant reminder of the slaughter of Brescia's own innocents during three days of sacking of the town by French troops in 1512. Similarly, Eucharistic miracles such as the Mass of St. Gregory were adapted into compositions of local concerns, as for example, the Miracle of the Eucharist (fig 51)

⁵ Titian's most significant contributions to the public image of Brescia were a number of frescoes executed for the Palazzo della Loggia in 1564. These depicted three allegories of Brescia, but were destroyed in a fire in 1575. Pasero (1952): 49-87; Tietze-Conrat (1954): 209-210. On Titan's polyptych for SS. Nazaro e Celso, see Humfrey (1993): 310-311.

for the Chapel of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista. The period under examination here, 1510-1550, saw dramatic changes of the political, social and religious landscape. Through a closer look at the works of painters whose activity spanned these years, it is possible to gain some understanding of how these changes impacted on local centres and their inhabitants. Throughout this study, the framework of the local conditions will be referred to as a constant point of reference affecting the production of art in Brescia. In particular, it will be one of the main aims of this thesis to examine the effectiveness of religious painting in helping to forge a distinctive visual identity (or maybe, identities?) for the town. These conditions will be established in Chapter One.

Brescia's appearance and social make-up was deeply affected by a change of political overlord in 1426, when it became a border town of the Venetian *terra ferma* empire. With the arrival of the Venetians, population figures increased dramatically, and hand in hand with this development went the arrival of a number of new religious orders and congregations to the town. As a result, there was employment available for architects, sculptors and painters to a hitherto unknown degree. Because of the change of political affiliation, artists employed by the Milanese court were less readily available. Patrons gained access to the Venetian market instead. Until 1489 though, artists had to be imported for major commissions, as the town lacked any school of art of its own. This turning point for the production of the visual arts coincided with Vincenzo Foppa's (ca.1427/30-1516) application for residency in Brescia in 1489. Dogged by debts, the old master decided to leave the employment of the Milanese Court and resettled in his native Brescia. The City

⁶ On the altarpiece, see Humfrey (1993): Introduction.

Council granted him generous terms of employment and in effect created the post of painter and architect to the town (see discussion in Chapter One). He was called on to teach painting and architecture and although there are no surviving documents linking Romanino and Moretto to his school, it has been assumed that both of them were locally trained by him, or a close associate of the newly established school. Another artist from the same generation who has also been linked to a possible training in the same school is Floriano Ferramola, who collaborated with Moretto on at least one occasion.⁷ Unfortunately, no traces remain of Foppa's school or of buildings associated with him, even though his terms of employment by the Brescian City Council stated that he was to teach painting and architecture. The origins of the Brescian School of painting thus remain obscure.

The annexation of the town by Venice in the fifteenth-century resulted in a shift of emphasis in the production of art from the stating of adherence to the signorial rule of the Milanese, to a celebration of the new freedom of the town under Venetian government. One of the prime manifestations of this was the reorganisation of urban space and in particular the physical relocation of the seat of government from the medieval fortress of the Broletto to purposefully erected Renaissance palace, the Palazzo della Loggia.

Brescia's political alliance to Venice, however, was in stark contrast to the town's ecclesiastical affiliation to the Archdiocese of Milan. It is interesting to observe that at various stages in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries either the religious or the political affiliation was the one emphasised in art. The resulting

⁷ This was the commission for the organ shutters for the Duomo Vecchio, now in Santa Maria in Valvendra in Loreto (fig.6). 1515-1518.

conflict of interests between the celebration of a new political alliance and the continued veneration of saints from the liturgical calendar of a politically hostile diocese, was exacerbated in situations of open conflict between Milan and Venice, such as during the period of the wars of the League of Cambrai. This conflict, though, became most pronounced in the period following the Council of Trent, when decisions regarding the construction of a new cathedral required stylistic choices. This coincides with the episcopate of Cardinal Carlo Borromeo who took a very proactive approach in the government of his diocese. Interestingly, though, the majority of bishops serving in Brescia were Venetians, notably Domenico Bollani, who resided in Brescia from 1559 until his death in 1579, thus indicating the importance of politics and the actual occupation of territory, in the governing of religious matters in sixteenth-century Italy.⁸

Brescia prided itself on an illustrious religious past, and there were conscious attempts made at increasing the religious prestige of the town in the sixteenth-century. For example, the City Council 'headhunted' Timotea Caprioli who had a reputation for sanctity; at the same time, the settlement of new religious orders in Brescia was encouraged as a means of further sanctifying the town.⁹ The

⁸ See Montanari (1988): 399-409; Montanari, (1987): Introduction. Bollani was described in the following terms: 'someone might object that so far we seem to describe a citizen rather than a bishop. Our answer is that a bishop should not lack in the social and moral virtues, although they do not belong to him alone, but also to others. They are the foundations; without them, those that are peculiar to a bishop and properly his would necessarily collapse', Cairns (1976): 235.

⁹ Faino reports how Timotea witnessed on 3 March 1441, the feast day of the Holy Cross, a vision of the Crucifix in her convent in Verona. She then appealed to Ermolao Barbaro, Bishop of Verona, for permission to transfer to Brescia with another 13 sisters. It was not until 1471, though, that the new convent was completed. It was sanctioned on 28 March that same year. Prestini (1990): 10-14. Faino (1666): ms BQB E.1.2, folio 120.

Attempts at attaching holy women to a particular location to reap the spiritual benefits of their presence for a town were common elsewhere, with one of the best known examples that of Ferrara, and Ercole I d'Este's construction of the convent of Santa Caterina (1499-1501). The convent was

Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga transferred its seat from Venice to Brescia in the first decade of the sixteenth-century and there was an equally prominent presence of the Benedictine Cassinese Congregation. Both congregations were renowned for their piety, learning and strict orthodoxy in their support of Papal primacy (see discussions in Chapters Two and Three). Indeed, not only were all of the major orders represented in the town, but also new religious foundations sprang up, such as Angela Merici's Ursulines in 1535, in response to the religious crisis of the first half of the sixteenth-century in Italy. In addition, the town also became the focus for new religious devotions with the introduction of the *Quarant'Ore*. Brescia thus gained and cultivated a reputation as a devout and holy town; it can even be argued that the town's emphasis on its rich religious legacy and continuing religious orthodoxy and obedience to the Pope emphasised the town's long-standing Christian heritage in contrast to *La Serenissima* which had had to import the body of its patron saint from Alexandria. The celebration of a rich religious history thus became one means of establishing a distinctive local identity.

In this context, Romanino and Moretto were seminally influential in the development of sixteenth-century painting in Brescia and its environs, forging a recognisably 'Brescian' style of painting. This style can be characterised as 'Venetian' in colour with large, monumental figures clad in gorgeous silks and shiny satin draperies and placed in luminous landscapes reminiscent of Giorgione and the young Titian. This Brescian style is also marked by great attention to detail (with great care taken over the depiction of still life elements) and an evocative use of

built to house a group of nuns from Viterbo, most notably a living relic, the Blessed Lucia Brocadelli who displayed the stigmata. See discussion in Rosenberg (1997): 145-148.

light. One of the most celebrated of these works is Romanino's St. Matthew, 1521-24, from the church of San Giovanni Evangelista (fig. 1). The St. Matthew frequently features in discussions of the visual origins of the young Caravaggio.¹⁰

Of these stylistic markers, it is the use of light, and of *chiaroscuro* as a means of modelling, that has interested scholars such as Roberto Longhi. One of the legacies any scholar of Northern Italian art has to face is Longhi's preoccupation with the nature of the relationship between Venetian art, Lombard art and the development of Caravaggio. Longhi characterises Brescian art as 'sono dunque, cotesti, brani superbi di pittura "corsiva" lombarda e nei riguardi della vita si manifestano in forme di popolarità chiara e tranquilla.'¹¹ In general, there are similarities in the appearance of Brescian paintings, in that they differ greatly from the works produced by contemporary Lombard painters, such as Bernardino Luini, whose main stylistic source of derivation was from the works Leonardo da Vinci had produced during his Milanese sojourn (figs. 2 and 3).¹² In fact, one of the major preoccupations of scholars of Brescian art has been the vexed question of where the art comes from: is it Milanese, or is it Venetian? Opinion has differed widely on this, yet on balance, most discussions assign the Brescian painters a place amongst the Venetians, a claim which can be supported through discussions of the political history of the town. However, discussion of the Brescian painters under the umbrella of Venetian painting is ultimately a dead end, as this approach does not further our

¹⁰ Moir (1988): 8-9; Hibbard (1983): 304. Puglisi differs in her account of Caravaggio's youth, and does not mention Romanino at all, but draws attention instead to the importance of Moretto for the development of the artist. Puglisi (1998): 32-36.

¹¹ Longhi (1917): 109-110.

¹² Marani (1990): 7-11.

understanding of why the arts flourished so suddenly in Brescia at the beginning of the sixteenth-century.

Longhi, as most of the scholars following his lead, has failed to distinguish the considerable differences displayed by the painters grouped within the 'Brescian School', discussing the Brescians (Romanino, Moretto and Savoldo) as one coherent artistic movement. Longhi's statement about Brescian art as characterised by 'forme di popolarità chiara e tranquilla' needs to be qualified, as this description fits Moretto's art, but does not adequately describe the painterly, dynamic and sometimes frantic character of much of Romanino's work.

At this point, it is necessary to introduce a brief aside on Gian Gerolamo Savoldo (ca. 1480-1548).¹³ Savoldo is possibly the best known Brescian painter, and he is specifically celebrated in Paolo Pino's 1548 Dialogo di Pittura. Pino, one of Savoldo's pupils, rates his master amongst the foremost of Venetian painters, and rarely mentions Romanino and Moretto. He describes Savoldo in a lengthy passage on the perfect painter as 'Messer Gierolemo bresciano in questa parte era dottissimo, della cui mano vidi già alcune aurore con rifletti del sole, certe oscurità con mille descrizioni ingegniosissime e rare, le qual cose hanno più vera imagine del proprio che li Fiamminghi'.¹⁴ These qualities, of ingenious employment of light on reflective surfaces, and minute attention to detail, have been ascribed generally to the Brescian School. Yet Savoldo was the one most exposed to Flemish art which he imitated and admired. While his art displayed all of the characteristics of Brescian art as defined above, especially his use of evocative twilight, discussion of his art has been

¹³ Gilbert (1955); Ballarin (1966); Boschetto (1963).

¹⁴ Pino (1548): 69-70; Jacobsen (1974): 530-534.

excluded from this study. Savoldo was mainly active in Venice, and his greatest works are sophisticated exercises in paint which appealed to the private collectors and patrons of the *Serenissima*, themselves educated connoisseurs equipped to appreciate his erudite art.¹⁵ The predominantly private market served by Savoldo was different from that supplied by Romanino and Moretto, and his sphere of influence was well removed from the forging of a Brescian identity that concerned his two contemporaries and their patrons.

It is telling that so far there have been no English monographs available of these two artists, but interest in them has steadily increased over the last few decades. The last monograph to be published on Romanino appeared in 1925 in Italian, and a German monograph on Moretto was published in 1943.¹⁶ Recently though, new scholarship on the artists has been published: in 1988 Begni Redona published a major monograph on Moretto, and Alessandro Nova has emerged as Romanino's champion with the publication of an Italian catalogue raisonné of the artist's work in 1994.¹⁷ Three major exhibitions have been held in Brescia of their works, one on Brescian Renaissance painting in 1939, one on Romanino in 1965 and one on Moretto in 1988. All three exhibitions were accompanied by major catalogues, which have become standard works on the artists.¹⁸ This trend has also led to the inclusion of works by the two artists in major exhibitions on Venetian painting such as the celebration of The Genius of Venice, 1500-1600, held by the

¹⁵ Aikema (1993).

¹⁶ Nicodemi (1925); Gombosi (1943).

¹⁷ Begni Redona (1988); Nova (1994a).

¹⁸ La Pittura Bresciana del Rinascimento, exhibit, cat., Bergamo, 1939; Pittura del Moretto e del Romanino in chiese e palazzi del bresciano: supplemento al catalogo della mostra della pittura bresciana del Rinascimento, Bergamo, 1939; Panazza (1965a); Dell'Acqua (1988).

Royal Academy in London in 1983, and more recently (1993) the overview of the Siècle de Titien at the Louvre, Paris.

It is not the aim of this thesis to address the need for an up-to-date treatment of the painters in English or to engage in discussion of the biographies of Romanino and Moretto. For these purposes, a brief chronology of their major works has been compiled and appended. The discussion of their works in subsequent chapters will be limited to a few, thematically arranged examples. The following pages will instead supply a brief outline of the development of both painters, in order to equip the reader with the biographical detail necessary for the later discussion of the images.

The early years of both painters remain obscure due to a lack of surviving documentation. The scant references that survive, however, suffice to piece together sketchy biographies of Moretto's and Romanino's activities in the first decade of the sixteenth-century. The latter was born in Brescia between 1484-87. The first mention of Romanino refers to him as joint head of a workshop, with his brother Gian Giacomo in June 1508 in Brescia (see appendix 1). Curiously, there is no further mention of a Gian Giacomo Romano after this date. In 1509, Romanino secured a major contract in the commission for the decoration of the loggia of the palace of the Venetian commander general Niccolò Orsini in Ghedi. Only fragments survive of these magnificent frescoes, but the few traces left in the Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest are enough to convey the sense of movement and urgency

instilled by Romanino in the scenes celebrating Orsini's military deeds.¹⁹ A guidebook written by Pietro Contarini in 1623 refers to the frescoes in Ghedi

's'inviammo a vedere l'ismisurata Machina d'un labente palazzo con stalloni superbissimi del già generoso et magnanimo generale Sforza, nel borgo di Gedi verso poenente la cui principal loggia è tutta adorna di pitture che rappresentano si può dir, dal vivo la cerimonia del porgerli lo Stendardo per mano diversi Potentati'.²⁰

After his work at Orsini's family palace, for which he did not receive payment for many years, the French and Spanish occupations of Brescia from 1509-1516 forced Romanino to seek employment in other Northern Italian centres such as Padua, Cremona and Mantua. One of the results of Romanino's failure to receive payment from Orsini's heirs (they expressed dissatisfaction with the roughness of the figures, which was to become one of the charges most frequently levelled at Romanino by patrons unwilling to part with their cash), was that the artist remained wary of entering employment at a court until 1531. Even the intervention of Federico Gonzaga, the marquis of Mantua himself, did not renew Romanino's contact with a court environment.²¹

Between 1514-16, after a successful period in Padua, there are no further documents relating to Romanino until 1517. His presence is recorded in Brescia in

¹⁹ Longhi (1926): 144-150; Nova (1995a): 159-160.

²⁰ Putelli (1924): 218.

²¹ The commission in question was to fresco a façade for Federico Gonzaga's father Francesco in Mantua in 1519. Another Mantuan patron seeking the services of Romanino was the court astrologer Paris Cesarea, but this commission also was left unfulfilled by the Brescian, to be executed by Pordenone instead. Nova (1994a): 234.

that year when he and Moretto were present at the reunion of the Collegio Generale of Brescian painters on 19 April:

'Die 19 aprilis 1517 in ecclesia Sancti Luce brixienensis. Convocato collegio generali pictorum Brixie in loco suprascripto pro infrascriptis et aliis peragendis, ...magister Florianus Ferramola,...magister Alexander de Bonvicinis, ...magister Hieronymus de Romaninis (...).'²²

It is generally thought that Romanino returned to Brescia in order to take up the prestigious commission for the altarpiece of the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Sts. Francis of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, Bonaventura and Louis of Toulouse with two Franciscan Brothers for San Francesco (fig.4).²³ The commission was originally given to Leonardo da Vinci (in 1497) who accepted, but then failed to carry out more than preparatory drawings. The altarpiece is missing its predella, and its shutters; the latter were recorded until 1791, and the subject matter can be identified following the description given by Carlo Ridolfi in 1648 as St. Francis's betrothal to Lady Poverty and the Expulsion of the Demons from Arezzo:

Il Serafico santo che si sposa alla povertà, e sotto il vescovo d'Assisi che predica al popolo l'indulgenza della Madonna degli Angeli, e il Pontefice dormiente a cui il santo stilla dal costato il sangue in un calice, e in altra parte discaccia dalla città d'Arezzo molti demoni sotto mostruose forme, significando le disordie che vertivano in

²² ASB, Notarile 1148.

²³ The carved and gilded frame by Stefano Lamberti measures cm 600x350 and bears the inscription F.FRANCISCU(S)/DE SANSON BRIX/M.M.GENERALIS/AERE SUO/MDII. This honours the patron of the altarpiece, Francesco Sansone, General of the Franciscan Order, thought to be represented as one of the two Franciscan brothers in the altarpiece.

que'tempi fra la fattione guelfa e gibellina, frapostosi il Santo mediatore di quelle discordie'.²⁴

Nova argues that these lost shutters were the first reaction of the Franciscan order to the threat of heresy. The explicit references in the Expulsion of the Demons to chaos and disarray are read as references to dissent and religious disillusion brought about by the onset of the German Reformation.²⁵ If so, this 1517 altarpiece is an indication of the importance of religious painting for the transmission of spiritual as well as political messages. Brescia's geographical position at the confluence of three Alpine valleys places it at a crossroad for the transmission of cultural influences between the South and the Transalpine regions. An early exposure of Brescia to Protestant ideas was thus inevitable. By the middle of the 1520s, the City Council was issuing legislation against heretical movements. In 1527, a local scribe described the situation as severe: 'eresia entròin alcuni puochi cittadini; tre preti ne sono infetti [...] Cinquant'uomini in Brescia andarono per alcune notti per la città cantando le litanie de'santi, attribuendo ad essi, a Dio et alla Beata Vergine diverse esecrabili villanie'.²⁶ The town was therefore at the forefront of attempts to extirpate heresy, so that any references to heresy in altarpieces are topical local references.

The success of the altarpiece established Romanino as the main painter in Brescia, and he did not want for employment. Most of his commissions were of a religious nature and he was employed by the local patricians, confraternities and

²⁴ Ridolfi (1648): 252.

²⁵ Nova (1986): 89 ff.

religious orders on altarpieces, processional banners and organ shutters. Romanino's highly successful workshop even exported works to customers in other centres of the Venetian *terra ferma*, such as Asola and Bergamo. Throughout the 1520s, though, Romanino experienced a series of professional setbacks, losing commissions to his younger Brescian rival, Moretto. At the same time, he incurred increasingly severe criticism from some of his patrons for the 'crudeness' of some of his figures. Romanino proved difficult to employ, too. The bluntness of the artist is recorded in an anecdote telling how the painter was chided for the brevity of a shirt worn by a St. Christopher. Romanino had painted a tunic so short that St. Christopher's decency was under threat. Clearly showing were 'le parti che distinguono il maschio dalle femina'. Romanino's curt response likened the saint's difficulties in covering his masculinity to his own problems with covering his outlays, as 'che puochi erano i denari promessigli per fargli longa la veste'.²⁷ Rossi, who tells the story, assures the reader that the saint's decency was rescued after additional monies had been paid over to the painter. The serious point about this episode is that Romanino's eccentricity was remarked on more frequently from the 1520s onwards, which lends credence to the perception of the painter as idiosyncratic.²⁸ Crowe and Cavalcasselle characterised the output of this period as marked by a 'perceptible disregard of all lessons familiar to the higher schools of Tuscany', a criticism levelled equally at the harshness of the features and the awkward placing of the figures in space.²⁹ The movement towards a greater orthodoxy of religious imagery throughout the 1520s

²⁶ Cochetti (1858): 88-89.

²⁷ Rossi (1620): 503.

²⁸ Nova advances the suggestion that anti-classical tendencies in Romanino's work might be related to macaronic poetry. Nova (1994b): 678ff.

clashed with Romanino's increasingly idiosyncratic interpretations of the sacred stories. By the end of the decade, he had lost his predominance over the Brescian market to Moretto, whose elegant, High Renaissance imagery competed favourably with the increasingly anti-classical style of his older contemporary. Nova laconically remarks that 'this type of painting was probably little appreciated in Brescia at this late date', an observation which is borne out by the poor survival rate of these works.³⁰

In 1531, Romanino took the bold step of abandoning his independence as master of a workshop to enter the employment of Cardinal Bernardo Clesio at Trent, where he worked in a team of artists under the direction of Dosso Dossi.³¹ Romanino's sojourn to Trent resulted in some stunning images, most notably the magnificent Carriage of Phaeton (fig.5) for the Cortile dei Leoni of Clesio's castle.³² His decision to seek employment at Clesio's court could have been prompted by a loss of work in Brescia, but it could also have been the result of a desire for a change of direction from predominantly religious to secular imagery.

However, following the period of 10 months at Trent, Romanino did not permanently return to Brescia, and for the next decade his movements were peripatetic, and his base of operations shifted to the Val Camonica region north of Brescia.³³ The first commission there was for a local confraternity of Flagellants in

²⁹ Crowe and Cavalcasselle (1912): III, pp.254-328.

³⁰ Nova (1995b): 300-306.

³¹ On the works for Clesio's Castello del Buonconsiglio, see: Ausserer and Gerola (1925), Morassi (1929-1930): 241-264; 311-334; 335-375; Rasmo (1982); Schmoelzer (1901); Semper (1914).

³² On Romanino's frescoes, see Chini (1988); Frangenberg (1993a): 352-378; Frangenberg (1993): 18-37; Nova (1994a): 270-284; Passamani (1965).

³³ Romanino is recorded in Brescia in 1532 where he was busy executing large scale secular frescoes of Ovidian Stories for the Casa Martinengo: Nova (1994a): 284-285

Pisogne in 1534.³⁴ He was offered the substantial amount of 150 Lire Planet for decorating the exterior and interior of the oratory attached to the church of S. Maria della Neve. The scenes themselves are highly expressive, so expressive in fact that they have been variously described as Northern, and as bordering on caricature. The Val Camonica region had been singled out as early as 1524 for heresy, and in the decoration of Santa Maria della Neve, what is emphasised instead of heresy is the orthodox adherence of the confraternity to the teachings of the Church. It becomes possible to interpret the highly unusual character of the decoration not as evidence of suspected evangelical leanings on the side of the painter, as has been suggested previously, but instead as a declaration of orthodoxy, and as a reaffirmation of the teaching of the Catholic Church by local religious communities. Romanino then went on to decorate the church of Sant'Antonio a Breno, and finally executed a cycle of Marian imagery for S. Maria Annunciata at Bienno. These religious fresco cycles are amongst his most remarkable, yet rarely studied works, executed in a heterodox and idiosyncratic style only employed by the artist for works executed for the provinces.³⁵

In the works for the Brescian urban market, his style is more competitive with and akin to that of Moretto highlighting Romanino's ability to adapt his style to the requirements of each individual project. In his final years, he mainly worked on secular fresco decoration, and mostly collaborated with his son-in-law Lattanzio Gambara on a number of commissions. In fact, their collaboration was so successful that it is difficult at times to distinguish Gambara's hand from that of his father-in-

³⁴ See Passamani (1990).

³⁵ Panazza (1965b); Nova (1994a): 287-292; 297-300; 310-311.

law and Vasari speaks of Gambara as Brescia's greatest painter, more or less ignoring Romanino's achievements.

The early years of Moretto remain even more obscure than Romanino's. He was born approximately 10 years after Romanino (in ca. 1498) and his first mention is not as an artist but as the trustee of the testament of Matteo Cortesi.³⁶ Begni Redona suggests that Moretto might have accompanied Romanino to Padua between 1512 and 1516, but there is no documentary evidence to support this (plausible) hypothesis.³⁷ According to Faino, Moretto first executed the decoration of a chapel in the convent of Santa Croce with frescoes illustrating the Life of Mary Magdalen.³⁸ These frescoes are lost. He then went on to carry out work on a set of organ shutters commissioned by the Brescian City Council. These shutters, depicting the Brescian patron saints Sts. Faustino and Giovita on Horseback (fig.6) survive, as does the contract, which lists Moretto as 'magistro Alexandro quondam magistri Petri de Bonvicinis'.³⁹ From 1517, he regularly attended the meetings of the Confraternity of the Sacrament at Brescia's cathedral. This is in stark contrast to what little is known of Romanino's private life. There are no comparable records referring to membership of local confraternities for Romanino, which raises questions about the religiosity of the latter.⁴⁰ Not much is known about Moretto's activities prior to 1521. In that year he gained, in collaboration with Romanino, the contract for the decoration of the Chapel of the Sacrament for the church of San Giovanni Evangelista. This commission will be discussed in Chapter Four. Throughout the 1520s, Moretto

³⁶ ASB, Notarile 445.

³⁷ Begni Redona (1988): 587.

³⁸ Faino (1630-1669): 160.

³⁹ The contract names Moretto before his collaborator Floriano Ferramola. ASCB, n 632, c.76.

succeeded in establishing himself as the leading Brescian painter, encroaching on Romanino, who exported more and more work to the provinces. Unlike his older rival, Moretto was highly efficient at organising his workshop. He never specialised in frescoes. Instead, the output from his workshop comprised a seemingly endless number of altarpieces, devotional works and, importantly, portraits. Some sense of Moretto's spreading reputation can be gained from a letter addressed to him in 1528 by Lorenzo Lotto. Lotto wrote to Moretto to ask for his collaboration in the ill-fated commission for the choir stalls of Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, addressing his note 'allo molto carrissimo suo honorato messer Alexandro Moretto pittore excellentissimo in Bressa'.⁴¹

Moretto's increasingly secure position in Brescia became even less disputed when Romanino left for Trent in 1531. He is recorded in the town throughout the 1530s and 1540s, never leaving his native town for any period of time.⁴² In contrast to Romanino then, Moretto's artistic activities are as well documented as details relating to his personal life. Moretto was known as a pious, devout man: he was a member of two Confraternities of the Holy Sacrament (in his parish of San Clemente and in the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia). He served repeatedly as officer for the Confraternity in the Duomo, and was amongst the personal friends of such reformers as Angela Merici, Agostino Gallo and Matia Ugoni.⁴³ The names of his friends are

⁴⁰ ADB, c.68 and 69 (modern numbering pp.136 and 137).

⁴¹ Begni Redona (1988): 594-595.

⁴² Begni Redona lists a series of documents confirming Moretto's presence in Brescia, which range from tax returns, records of payments and contracts, to property transactions and Moretto's testament. The picture that emerges from these records is that of a pious bachelor who married late, and who was prosperous enough to own several properties. Begni Redona (1988): 587-617.

⁴³ Begni Redona (1988): 587-617.

recorded, and we know what circles Moretto moved in.⁴⁴ This will be discussed in Chapter Five.

This piety of Moretto's became a popular topic especially for nineteenth-century critics. A good example of this critical approach is Otto Mündler's description of Moretto as 'un homme d'une douceur de moeurs extrême et d'une piété fervente: comme le Beato Angelico il se préparait, dit-on, à l'exécution d'une image de la Vierge, par l'exécution d'une image de la Vierge, par la jêune, la prière et l'eucharistie'.⁴⁵ Mündler's remarks on the sweetness of Moretto's compositions is particularly meaningful in the frequent allusions made to Moretto's stylistic dependence on Raphael.⁴⁶ This made the painter particularly popular with the Nazarenes.⁴⁷

Moretto's career and critical fortune differs markedly from Romanino's. The latter's career, despite its splendid and promising beginnings, was marred by continuous disagreements with patrons, often resulting in lengthy exchanges of letters demanding payment, and within a few years of his death he was virtually forgotten. Unlike Moretto, he was not 'rediscovered' in the nineteenth-century, and his critical fortune has only recently recovered. Yet it is only in the comparison of both of these painters, once placed in the context of sixteenth-century Brescia, that a

⁴⁴ Moretto's friends included Agostino Gallo, Aretino, the organ builder Giovanni Giacomo Antegnati, Lorenzo Lotto, Mattia Ugoni, Bishop of Famagosta and Angela Merici. The list of Moretto's friends indicates the painter's close involvement with the group of religious reformers in Brescia. See discussion in Chapter Five.

⁴⁵ Mündler (1850): 53.

⁴⁶ In Brescian writings of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, Moretto is frequently referred to as the 'Raffaello Bresciano'. The first comparison of Moretto to Raphael goes back to Vasari who described the heads of some of Moretto's saints as 'sono vivissime, e tengono della maniera di Raffaello da Urbino, e più ne terrebero se non fosse da lui stato tanto lontano'. Vasari/Milanesi (1906): IV, 506.

⁴⁷ Passamani (1988c): 19.

meaningful discussion of the visual, civic and religious identities of their native town becomes possible. They were as instrumental in shaping this identity as they were in expressing reactions to the changes affecting the contemporary religious, social and political scene.

Changes have started to affect discussions of the artistic development of the individual in Renaissance Italy which are benefiting studies such as the one undertaken here. Vasari's all-too-convenient model of an organic, and linear development of art and the individual artists themselves, explored at length in the two editions of the Lives, has been decisively challenged in recent studies in favour of questioning the motivations behind the production of art.⁴⁸ It is also fair to state that the Tuscan bias of Vasari still permeates much writing of Renaissance art history. This has led to a historical neglect of artists who were slighted by Vasari. Romanino is one of the slighted artists whose fortunes are slow to recover. Yet through asking the question of why Brescian art looks the way it does, and why was there such an abundant flourishing of this school in the first half of the sixteenth-century, it has been possible to tap into largely unused local historical resources. Brescian historians have long been more active than their art historical colleagues

It is now becoming apparent what the implications are of accepting that artists were capable of working in more than one style at any given point in their careers. If this is accepted, then it is clear that, in turn, the number of options open to the patron not only in deciding on which artist to choose, but also in which style to

⁴⁸ One example of a different approach is Goldthwaite (1993). It has also become fashionable to study work in thematic groups, bunching together a range of similar objects, and comparing those. Examples for this tendency are Musacchio (1999) and Woods-Marsden (1998). Rona Goffen

have a work executed, are not yet fully realised in most discussions. This is again a point which has a close bearing to Brescian commissions, and especially to the work produced by Romanino whose works could veer between the extremes of roughly sketched frescoes for a provincial audience, to the highly polished and finished altarpieces produced for urban patrician patrons. Style has become even more decisive an indicator of intentions than has been thought in previous discussions. Marcia Hall put this succinctly when she wrote that

artists could adjust their style from one commission to another so that stylistic development is not necessarily linear. In the past, stylistic changes were understood to be driven largely by artistic dynamics- competition, one painter corresponding to the innovation of another- and by external events, like wars, changes in religious attitudes, and economic prosperity and depression. Increasingly, scholarship is enlarging the circle to include politics and the patron.⁴⁹

The logical outcome of this statement about the artists' abilities to match their style to requirements and to display divergent styles from commission to commission is the need to rethink artistic chronologies. Their art did not necessarily develop in a linear way, but through deliberate choice of an appropriate style. This was selected with the view to project a particular message. The concern of the art historian thus needs to be with decorum as much as with the chronology of an artist's output. With the need for a revision in thinking about artistic chronologies, the relationship between artists at various stages of their careers, and in different centres,

exemplifies yet another trend, of isolating a specific group of works in the output of an artist, such as, in her case, Titian's repeated representation of female subjects. Goffen (1997).

will also need to be reconsidered. Hall's specific concern is with developments in Rome, after Raphael, yet her statement is corroborated through closer stylistic examination of artists such as the 'Ferrarese' Dosso Dossi, whose style could change so dramatically from one commission to the next, that it seems inconceivable that two such works could stem from the same period.⁵⁰ In Dossi's case, the discovery of a new document for the Costabili Polyptych (fig.7) has dramatically altered perceptions of this artist.⁵¹ Previously, the Costabili Polyptych had been considered a work of the mature Dossi, usually thought to date from the 1530s. Much of his chronology revolved around the dating of this work.⁵² Yet Franceschini's discovery of the contract, which establishes the altarpiece as created in 1513, means that the dates of many of Dossi's works have to be questioned and a revised chronology of his works will become necessary. Any revision of this will result in a new understanding of this particular artist. The impact on critical perceptions of the artist and his works awaits demonstration. Dossi's case therefore points out the dangers of reliance on a linear model of artistic development which is not corroborated through other factors, as will be further demonstrated here.

Finally, one last tendency of recent scholarship has been to pay less attention to the 'who', but to examine instead 'why' a work of art was created, and under what circumstances. This new Renaissance art history, less concerned with Panofskyian iconography, but preoccupied instead with questions of context, has led to a considerable expansion of the field of Renaissance art history. One of the direct

⁴⁹ Hall (1999): 8. The italics have been added for emphasis.

⁵⁰ Ciammitti, Ostrow and Settis (1998). See especially Humfrey (1998b): 201-218.

⁵¹ Franceschini (1998): 143-151. See also Franceschini (1995): 110-115; Humfrey (1998a): 3-15.

⁵² Humfrey and Lucco (1998): 22-30.

outcomes of this has been an expansion of the canon of the so-called Renaissance masters. The canon has started to include masters active in regional centres, and has led to the 'rediscovery' of figures such as Lotto, Dossi and Correggio whose reputations suffered for a long time from the adulation extended towards their 'greater' contemporaries, such as Raphael, Michelangelo and Titian.⁵³ One of the most representative examples of recent trends in scholarly publications has been the flurry of works focussed on the court of Ferrara. Scholars such as Thomas Tuohy, Charles Rosenberg and Stephen Campbell have examined this court and the ruling Este family by concentrating, in turn, on the patron, the object and the artist. The results have been varied, and fresh, and one of the questions raised is how effective the arts were in portraying the aims of their patrons.⁵⁴ The courts of Northern Italy in general have been the focus of much recent scholarship, and in addition, scholars are turning their attention to the Lombard city states integrated into the Venetian *terra ferma* empire. One example of this is work carried out on Bergamo by Giles Knox.⁵⁵

In the context of the discussion of Brescian painting in the shadow of *La Serenissima*, the question of 'who' is easily answered. The two fountainheads of painting in the sixteenth-century were Romanino and Moretto. As to the 'why', the

⁵³ To name but a few of the more recent publications, Peter Humfrey's sensitive and succinct monograph on Lorenzo Lotto, the first in English since the publication of Berenson's *Lorenzo Lotto: an essay in constructive art criticism* (1895) has reintroduced this eccentric artist into scholarly discourse. Humfrey (1997). In the same year, 1997, two further publications on Lotto appeared to coincide with a major exhibition on the artist in Washington, Bergamo and Paris. Bonnet (1997), and Brown, Humfrey and Lucco (1997). Humfrey has also been involved in the organisation of major international exhibitions on both Lorenzo Lotto and Dosso Dossi, even though so far no champion for Dossi's case has emerged, ready to write the all-important scholarly monograph. Major new monographs have appeared on Correggio and Pordenone, and Jacopo Bassano's case has also been furthered through the publication of new studies. On Correggio, see Ekserdjian (1998). On Pordenone, see Cohen (1996). On Bassano, see Aikema (1996) and Berdini (1997).

⁵⁴ Tuohy (1996); Rosenberg (1997); Campbell (1998). See also Welch (1999): 230-233. Ferrara also provides material for a consideration of the perceived role of the arts, see Shepherd (1997).

answer is more complex. One response might be 'identity'. The following chapters suggest that the search for a visual identity in the arts motivated individual and corporate patrons to forge associations with painters that could last for decades. They did this in Brescia, where the most important vehicle for the projection of personal, civic and religious identities was religious painting.

Maybe the time has arrived for Brescian art to step out from the shadow of *La Serenissima*?

⁵⁵ See his unpublished thesis on 'Church Decoration and Reform in Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Bergamo', University of Toronto, 1998.

Chapter 1

Brescia in the shadow of *La Serenissima* 1426-1516

*Bressa, cittade antiqua, è edificata appresso un monticello. Dico bene, è una bellissima citade, e forte de mura; ha un forte e bello castello, posto in cima del dicto monticello. In la citade, belle case per citadini e spessa de ogni artificio, ita che mi paria veder quasi Milano. Hanno bello palacio assai ornato dove habitano li rectori di quella, e ben provvisto de munitioni, maxime de arma terestre de ogni fogia. È cosa degna al viso humano. Bella cosa de vedere sarà la Logia comenzata intanti de la piazza, quando sarà fornita...
E però colui che disse- Brixia magnipotens- non pigliò errore alcuno stando la citade tanto opulenta.*

Pietro da Casola, 1494¹

¹ AA.VV., Storia di Brescia, vol. III, p. 1115, n. 1, Milan, 1961.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the local framework for the art of Romanino and Moretto from 1510-1550. It will be argued that the conditions within which the artists and their patrons operated had been created by a change of political overlord in the fifteenth-century, when the rule of Brescia passed from the Milanese Visconti dynasty to the Venetian Republic. As a result, throughout the fifteenth-century, a new outlet for patronage of the arts in Brescia became available. It was not until the sixteenth-century, though, that the arts flourished, and that a Brescian school of painting, spearheaded by Romanino and Moretto, was established. It will be argued that the evolution and development of that school depended on the relationship of the peripheral, provincial town to its centre, which is here defined in terms of the political centre. One of the underlying assumptions of this study is that the peripheral town would turn to the dominant centre for visual inspiration, and even to import available artists. Whether the factors influencing this decision are to do with the availability of patronage, or whether this is in the interest of the dominant political force which seeks to have a visual expression of its supremacy, is a point which needs to be debated more closely.² The visual identity developed and adopted by the periphery is thus a politically motivated one, where one of the factors contributing to the complexity of these arguments is also the need for the peripheral, subject town itself to establish a visual identity of its own. It is important to remember that this presumes that there is a multiple choice of visual models available to the artists working in provincial centres, even though they might largely depend on imported models if there is no indigenous local school. The adaptation and favouring of a

particular style of art by patrons can thus be assumed to be, at least partially, politically motivated. The case of Brescia, which is examined here, serves to illustrate this point, as a change of political overlord in the fifteenth-century had immediate as well as long-lasting repercussions on the visual identity of the town.

By the sixteenth-century, a Brescian School of painting, spearheaded by Romanino and Moretto had emerged, which meant that most commissions undertaken in the first half of the sixteenth-century were executed by local painters rather than imported foreign talents. This was an inversion of the practices followed in the fifteenth-century, where local talent of sufficient quality had not been available to the patrons until Foppa's arrival in Brescia in 1489.

In order to piece together a history of Brescia in the fifteenth-century, local sources and documents have been consulted.³ As this material is mostly known to local experts, a brief overview of events is introduced for the benefit of the reader in section II.

This study then proceeds to integrate the historical material into a discussion of Brescian painting of the early sixteenth-century. Important precursors in this line of enquiry are scholars such as Alessandro Nova, Pier Virgilio Begni-Redona and Valerio Guazzoni. Their studies have provided the starting point for this examination.⁴ This thesis, however, seeks to go beyond their work in comparing the arts produced by Romanino and Moretto between 1510-1550 in an attempt at exploring aspects of a local identity. This identity, however it was expressed, was based on the history of Brescia. Local pride, the jockeying

² The importance of the 'imposition of basic visual controls' is discussed in Welch (1995): 6 ff.

³ On the availability of archival material and historical sources for the scholar of Brescian history, see: Navarrini (1988): 23-30.

⁴ See Bayer, A., Brescia after the League of Cambrai. Moretto, Romanino and the Arts, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton, 1991.

for position amongst the town's leading families, the restructuring of the urban space of the town, the renewed interest in Brescia in its religious past, in its classical monuments and the flourishing of the printing presses were all an indication of a set of changed circumstances.

I. Historical Outline 1426-1516

The aim of this section is to provide a short summary of key events to provide a backdrop for the rest of this study. The dates 1426 and 1516 delimit one of the most turbulent periods of Brescian Renaissance history. In 1426, Brescia became part of the Venetian *terra ferma* empire, and in 1516, it returned to the rule of Venice after several years of occupation by French, Spanish, and Imperial troops. After 1426 then, Brescia's history, governmental structures and economy were inextricably linked to the fate of Venice, *La Serenissima*, itself.

In 1426, the town surrendered to Francesco Bussone, Count of Carmagnola, the Venetian captain-general. Prior to this submission to Venice, the town had been under the rule of dominant local dynasties such as the Torriani (1266-1290), the della Scala (1332-1337), the Visconti (1337-1403), Pandolfo Malatesta (1403-1404) and Filippo Maria Visconti (1421-26) for generations.⁵ With its surrender to the Venetian republic, Brescia acknowledged the overlordship of *La Serenissima*, and ceased to be part of the possessions of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan. The formal, legal surrender of the town to Venice was completed in 1433, when, as part of the Treaty of Ferrara, the Visconti surrendered both Brescia and Bergamo to Venice.⁶ As a result of this submission, Brescia and Bergamo became the two westernmost outposts of the Venetian *terra ferma*, and both towns became strategic strongholds for Venice.⁷ Politically, this invested Brescia with a value for the Venetians which it had not

⁵ Ferraro (1993): 52.

⁶ Mallett and Hale (1984): 33 ff.

⁷ I am grateful to Giles Knox (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), for information on Bergamo, and for the opportunity to read his paper on 'Civic Representation and Communal

possessed for the Milanese. As one of the outcomes, Venice started investing in the fortifications and economy of its new possession. At the same time, Venice asserted its authority by putting into place 'visual controls'. Brescia's new overlords concerned themselves firstly with the rebuilding of badly damaged fortifications, which then prominently bore the Lion of St. Mark's at every convenient and inconvenient point. As soon as the strategic necessity of breached walls had been addressed, the Venetians turned their attention to the reordering of the spaces enclosed within the city walls.

The value of Brescia as military outpost of the Venetian *terra ferma* becomes apparent from an examination of a map of the region (fig. 8): Brescia is placed at the opening of the Val Trompia and the confluence of the Mella and Garza Rivers, and so provides easy access to navigable rivers. Through its geographical location, it is easily defended against invasion from the north through the pre-Alpine mountain ranges of the Ronchi and the Colle Cidneo, while at the same time it provides access, via navigable rivers, to the south. This strategic location meant that Brescia was ideally placed to serve as the bulwark of the western frontier of the Venetian empire with Milan (and later, the French). In consequence, it became, and remained, the headquarters of the Venetian army until the end of the fifteenth-century.⁸

For the same reasons, it was also of vital importance for Venice to secure the fortifications surrounding Brescia. Venetian garrisons were stationed in the Val Camonica region North of Brescia, and in all strategically significant towns in the periphery of Brescia. The most sizeable of these garrisons were placed in

Surrogate: The Decoration of S. Maria Maggiore in Bergamo (1453-1630), an unpublished paper presented at CIHA XXI, Memory and Oblivion, Amsterdam, 1-7 September, 1996

Asola, Salò, Anfo, Pontevico and Orzinuovi in order to strengthen the western and southern frontier (with Mantua) of the Venetian empire.⁹ This decision proved to be strategically sound, for while the frontiers held, the *terra ferma* possessions remained unchallenged. Yet following Venetian defeat at Agnadello on 14 May 1509, the frontier strongholds fell in a 'domino effect', leaving the area between Brescia and Venice open to invasion by French troops.¹⁰ Within a few weeks of Agnadello, Venice had effectively lost all of its *terra ferma* conquests, including Padua. Control over strategically placed fortresses was clearly of the utmost importance, and as soon as Venice regained control over its mainland possessions, in 1516, attempts were made immediately at restoring the broken down fortifications of frontier strongholds.

The occupation of Brescia carried also economic benefits for Venice. After Milan, Brescia was the second-richest town in Lombardy, with a prosperous economy based on the manufacture of woollen cloths, silk and leather.¹¹ These luxury goods were largely produced for export, and had, under Milanese occupation, helped to satisfy the need of the court for luxury goods. There remains very little evidence of the consumption of these goods in Brescia, instead, the trend appears to have been one of the peripheral centre delivering goods to its capital. The same trend persisted, if to a lesser degree, under Venetian occupation.

One further item for export were arms: Brescia was famous for the production of gun-barrels and hand-held firearms which relied largely on local

⁸ Mallett and Hale (1984): 158.

⁹ Ferraro (1993): 28.

¹⁰ Mallett and Hale (1984): 166.

¹¹ Ferraro (1993): 35-47.

resources such as the unusually pure iron deposits of the Val Camonica.¹² The presence of Venetian garrisons in these regions meant of course that access to the raw materials of arms production was guaranteed to the local craftsmen. The advantage of the possession of a flourishing arms industry to Venice, with its large standing army, hardly needs to be expanded upon.

With such economic and strategic considerations in mind it was perhaps inevitable, then, that Brescia was too precious an asset to Milan for the latter not to attempt to recover possession.¹³ This attempt was made in 1438, when, in the course of renewed hostilities between Venice and Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, sent his commander Niccolò Piccinino against the town. One of the most ferocious engagements between the Milanese and the defenders of Brescia was fought on 13 December 1438, and the steadfastness of the Brescian resistance on that crucial day was attributed to the appearance on the battlements of Saints Faustino and Giovita, patron saints of Brescia. The siege continued, and it was not until 1440 that further Venetian troops finally came to the relief of Brescia. Within the same year, Filippo Maria Visconti abandoned the attempt to recover Brescia, and lifted the siege. This prolonged siege of Brescia, which lasted from October 1438 to the summer of 1440, was the first serious test of Brescian loyalty to Venice, and Venetian commitment to the defence of Brescia. As a result, the relationship between the two towns was further strengthened. It took years though for Brescia to recover and to overcome the famine and the suffering of the various epidemics caused by the deprivations of the prolonged siege

¹² For more detail on the Brescian economy see Pasero (1963): 3-396. Further sources are also Cattini (1988): 205-218 and Pegrari (1988): 219-238; Cozzi, Knapton and Scarabello, *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna*, Turin, 1992.

¹³ The following account is culled from Vannini, L., 'Brescia sotto la Repubblica Veneta (1426-1797)', in: *Brescia nella storia e nell'arte*, Brescia, 1971, pp. 46-50.

The anecdote of the appearance of Sts. Faustino and Giovita on the battlements of the castle protecting their town, recalls other stories of divine deliverance, most notably, Raphael's depiction of the Expulsion of Attila the Hun from the walls of Rome (1508). There, the appearance of Sts. Peter and Paul helps secure victory for the Christian forces of Pope Leo the Great over the pagan forces of the invader, in the same way as Faustino and Giovita protected their own city. The miracle occurred on one of the worst days of the siege, when morale of the Brescian soldiers begun to sink. This was despite the efforts of the formidable matron Brigida Avogadro who had joined the defence of the walls, and is reported to have chided retiring warriors for their slackness in defending Brescia. Brigida's efforts were boosted when Sts. Faustino and Giovita appeared to the besieged, in their dire distress. Accounts differ as to whether the saints were visible to friends and foes alike, yet, the resolve of the Brescians restored, they repulsed the onslaught of that crucial day. Eventually, the siege was lifted with the arrival of Francesco Sforza, the commander in charge of Venetian relief troops. The political irony of this is considerable, given that Francesco Sforza was shortly to succeed Filippo Maria Visconti as ruler of Milan. As soon as peace had been restored, the strategically important walls of Brescia were restored yet again.¹⁴

The Brescian miracle is reported in the Legenda dei SS. Faustino e Giovita from 1496, yet it took until 1585 for their intervention to be honoured by the

¹⁴ During the siege of 1426, the city walls of Brescia had been badly damaged, but after the surrender of Brescia, Venice immediately repaired and further strengthened the damaged walls. This concern of the Republic of Venice with the security of its *terra ferma* possessions also led to work on the walls of the towns of the Bresciano, such as Asola, Pontevico, Orzinuovi and Anfo. Venice's concern with the walls was recurrent, and after each military breach of the walls, they immediately set upon repairing the damage. Major works on the walls of Brescia were carried out in 1444-46, 1519 and after 1530. See Panazza (1959) 45

commune. A monument to the saints was erected near the place of the apparition (Figs. 9; 10). Fittingly, the monument is on today's Via Brigida Avogadro, thus commemorating the valiant matron at the same time as the divine interventionists. The inscription reads

HANC PENES ROVEROII STATIONEM/ MARTYRES CHRISTI,
INCLYTI, FAVSTINVS/ ET JOVITA VISI SVNT AB HOSTIBVS./ SVIS PRO
CIVIBVS, SVISQVE PRO/ MOENIBVS DECERTARE/BRIXIA TANTI
PRODIGII/ PVBLICEQ PIETATIS CAVSA/ FIERI IVSSEET/ HOC ANNO
MCCCCXXXVIII/MENSE DECEMBRIS APPARVIT.¹⁵

The emphasis in the inscription, which dates from 1585, on the popular piety of the Brescians as instrumental for the appearance of the saints, emphasises the construction of the town as pious and sacred. This understanding of Brescia as Brixia Sacra is one that is based not only on Brescian perceptions of their history, as one of the sacred towns of the Longobards, but is also based on pride in the possession of treasured relics, and the importance of the celebration of the Eucharist. These themes will be discussed in more detail in later chapters (chapters Four and Five).

The depiction of the saints on the monument in military uniform is unusual, and reflects the particular nature of their miracle. Most representations depicting Faustino and Giovita, show them in clerical garb, and most commonly with St. Apollonius, a bishop saint of Brescia (figs. 11; 12). The intention seems clear: Brescia is a holy town, a *città sacra*, under the special protection of God.

¹⁵ The inscription was commissioned by the council of Brescia on 6 May 1585 ASCB, Instrumenta, 769, c.5 r/v.

who has sent two saints to preserve Brescian freedom from Milanese rule. This is an early indication of the use of religious iconography for the purposes of constructing a special past for Brescia which takes on political significance. It is also worth considering that the association of Faustino and Giovita with arms in the miracle of deliverance is one that characterises Brescia's spiritual predilection as a main supplier of arms, at the same time as claiming a special religious devotion.

After 1438, the town of Brescia, and Italy as a whole, enjoyed a period of comparative peace after the settlement of Lodi in 1454, but the peace was short-lived. Initially, the French invasions of Italy in 1494 and 1499 did not affect Brescia greatly. Tax levels were increased by Venice to finance increased investment into the army, further troops were levied, and more troops were stationed in Brescia, but it was not until 1509 that Brescia became embroiled in the events of the Italian Wars. Until then, building activities and government business carried on much as usual. After the Battle of Agnadello, fought on 14 May 1509 however, Venice lost the best part of its *terra ferma* possessions, which included Brescia.¹⁶ The town submitted to Louis XII, and even prepared a splendid entry for the French king. In a meeting of the Brescian Council on 17 May 1509, 86 out of 120 councillors voted to welcome the French troops.¹⁷ The entry of Louis XII into Brescia occurred on 23 May 1509, and he spent 5 days there. Amongst the events marking the French entry was the destruction of Venetian symbols of rule throughout the city by the Brescian populace, in one

¹⁶ On the battle of Agnadello and its consequences see also Niccolò Machiavelli, who refers to it as the Battle of Vailà, in: *The Prince*, London, 1969, Book XXV, p.82. See also Francesco Guiccardini, who calls the Battle the battle of Ghiaradadda, in *The History of Italy*, (transl. Sidney Alexander), Princeton, 1969, pp. 202 ff.

¹⁷ Pasero (1957): 32, quotes the *Provisioni* of the Brescian Council of 1509.

instance, the Venetian Lion of St. Mark above the gates of the *castello* was pulled down (and quickly replaced after the end of the occupation).¹⁸ Yet despite widespread backing of French rule amongst some of the leading local families, such as the Gambara (traditionally Ghibelline families were pro-French), opposition to the French soon gained more and more support. By 1511, the situation in Brescia had deteriorated to the point of sporadic outbursts of violence between French soldiers and the population, and the plague of that year aggravated the situation even further.

In all, there were four attempts made at overthrowing French rule in order to reinstall Venetian authority between 1510 and 1512, but the most famous, and ill-fated of these attempts, took place on 2 February 1512. The coup to overthrow the French garrison, and to claim control over Brescia was initially successful, and for some 17 days, the town was in Brescian hands.¹⁹ Amongst the group of Brescian nobles who led the rebellion were members of the most ancient families of Brescia: Gian Giacomo Martinengo; Valerio Paitone; Giacomo Filippo Rosa; Gian Francesco Rozzoni; Luigi Valguglio; Galeazzo Fenarola; Annibale Lana and Luigi Avogadro. Many of these families were related, by intermarriage, to Venetian patrician families, and had, as a result, personal reasons for wishing to restore Venetian rule.²⁰ Members of these families were also amongst the most active patrons of the arts in sixteenth-century Brescia, and thus instrumental in shaping the appearance and the visual identity of their native town.

¹⁸ Bayer (1991): 18, n.27.

¹⁹ The consequences of the Sack of Brescia on the spiritual situation in Brescia was the subject of a communication on 'The Spiritual Crisis in Brescia after 1512' which I presented at the conference on The World of Savonarola. Italian Elites in Crisis- 1494-1519 at the University of Warwick in May 1998.

²⁰ See Ferraro's tables on the social origins of the politically active Brescian families of the later sixteenth-century. Ferraro (1993): 70-71, table 4.

On 16 February 1512, Gaston de Foix arrived in Brescia with 12,000 French troops from Bologna, and within 3 days of his arrival, the town was back in French hands.²¹ Brescia faced serious military retributions, and Gaston de Foix allowed three days of looting to his troops, intended as much as a punitive measure for the rebellious town, as well as a reward for his troops.²² Reports vary on the number of lives lost, but the Sack of Brescia itself is to this day remembered as one of the blackest moments in Brescian history. In three days of looting, pillage, sacking, murder and arson, up to 22,000 civilians are said to have been killed.²³ Local tradition has it that the rebels gathered on the tiny Piazza del Tito Speri, at the beginning of the climb to the castle. In a corner of the piazza, where the Rampant Lion of Brescia's coat of arms is frescoed on the walls of a house, fresh flowers can still be seen every day.²⁴

The political turmoil continued. By August 1512, the Venetian army had finally arrived at the walls of Brescia, reinforced by Spanish troops. The hard-

²¹ The Venetian secretary, Piero Bressan, describes his experience of the event as follows:

The city of Brescia had been breached and entered by the French captain, Monsieur de Foes. The unfortunate Piero Bressan, notary of the Chancery, and faithful servant of the most illustrious Signoria, who was then secretary of the most noble Procurator General Gritti, was imprisoned, robbed, stripped down to his doublet and, in the month of February, thrown into a dungeon to live on bread and water.

Chambers and Pullan (1992): 272.

²² Vignati (1884): 593-622, particularly 614-5.

²³ Accounts of the Sack of Brescia can be found in almost all Brescian sources. The following list is by no means complete, but contains some of the more easily accessible materials: Nassino, P., Registro delle cose di Brescia, BQB, C.I.J., Gambarà, F., Geste de' Bresciani durante la Lega di Cambray, BQB, H.XVIII.18, Martinego, G.G., Della Congiura dei Bresciani per sottrarre la patria alla francese dominazione, BQB, H.IV.1, Martinengo, G.G., Historia Bresciana dove si narrano le compassionevoli calamità ... sotto diversi Principi dall'anno 1509 sino all'anno 1516, BQB, D.V.7, Pasero (1957): 17 ff., Guerrini, P. (ed.), Le Cronache Bresciane inedite del secoli XV- XIX, 2 vols., Brescia, 1922. There are also reports in the diaries of Marin Sanudo and for an excellent summary, see Bayer (1991): 23-31.

²⁴ The Piazza Tito Speri is named after the Brescian freedom fighter Tito Speri who gathered his companions in 1848 on the very same piazza as his Renaissance predecessors had done. The Piazza lies halfway between the Piazza del Loggia and the cathedral, and is one more

pressed French garrison surrendered. Occupation of the town was not abandoned to the Venetians, though, but to their Spanish 'ally', General Cardona, and Brescia remained garrisoned by Spanish troops for yet another 4 years.²⁵ In 1512 and 1513, the inhabitants of Brescia suffered from the plague, yet there was no respite from further military actions. It was not until after a brief, final occupation by the imperial troops of Emperor Maximilian I between December 1515 and April 1516, that the Venetians finally gained control once more over a seriously depleted and damaged Brescia on 26 May 1516. Amongst other wreckage, the loss in lives had been extensive, and population figures in Brescia had dropped significantly: from 60,000 at the beginning of the sixteenth-century, to 17,000 by 1516.²⁶

The severity of the situation in Brescia after 7 years of occupation was recognised by Venice, which appointed Andrea Trevisan *provveditore straordinario*. The extraordinary powers of the *provveditore straordinario* allowed him to make decisions even without the consent of the Brescian council, and his major concern, in a move that reflected the situation in 1426, was with the fortifications of Brescia, and thus, the Venetian western border.²⁷ One of the most unpopular decisions taken by Trevisan in Brescia was the implementation of the *spianata* decree, which entailed the razing of all buildings within a radius of a *miglia*, or about 1500 metres, of the walls. This decision concurred with Venetian

manifestation of the richness of Brescian traditions. On the coat of arms of Brescia, see Pontoglio-Bina (1995): 305-332.

²⁵ This act led to a realignment of the allied forces of the Holy League. See Gilbert, F. (1973): 274 ff.

²⁶ Bayer (1991): 7 ff. For statistics on the population figures, see Frati (1978): 36 ff., and Pasero, (1961): 71-97.

²⁷ Guerrini (1988): 77-106. In particular, see pp.84-106 for a transcription of documents relating to works on the fortifications of Brescia, Orzinuovi, Asola and Peschiera.

legislation covering the whole *terra ferma*.²⁸ In the case of Brescia, the implementation of the *spianata* decree destroyed some of the town's most beautiful medieval parts, and led to the relocation of several religious houses. One of the orders most afflicted were the Franciscans, who lost the churches of Sant'Apollonio, San Bernardino and San Rocco. They were resettled in the city centre, where they were allocated the church of San Giuseppe instead.²⁹ The diarist Pandolfo Nassino gives a vivid account of the destruction caused by the implementation of the decree:

1517. Se cominzorono a spianar li borghi cioe lo borgo dela porta di lipii il qual andava fina a 500 cavezzi di sopra de la porta de lipili il qual borgo era bello cum fontani, era carezato da sera e de domane dela Garza, cum ortaie assai et simelmente zardini et qualche fiata in detto borgo se faseva il mercato dele biave, et in borgo che erano fontane da cinque, in sey, ma la parte de le case de sera parte erano più belle et più assai, et per dubitarmi se fosse iosato quelli cinquecento cavezzi li ho messo qui che andassevano fin al ponte dove se va a S. Maria dele Gratie de for a et parte anchora più in suso, cosa che veramente è da averne compassione tra per la perdita fatta de li case come anche per li poderi.³⁰

Nassino's account laments the loss of fountains, gardens and orchards, and he also lists the number of convents and monasteries affected by the clearing. Their relocation to new sites within the city walls presented artists in Brescia with a rare opportunity of decorating entire church interiors in a very limited time. At the

²⁸ The decree was pronounced by Andrea Trevisan in 1517. Liber proclamationum civitatis, Archivio Storico Civico, BQB, 1093. Also, see Pasero (1963): 298. Similar measures were ordered for Padua and Verona, and were as unpopular there as the law was in Brescia. See Hale (1980): 182. Also, on Padua, Franzin and Lenci, Padova e le sue mure, Padua, 1982.

very moment of recovering confidence after a number of traumatic years of occupation, Brescian artists faced an exceptional situation. There was more than enough work to support a number of workshops, most notably those of Romanino and Moretto, who proved equal to the challenge of capturing this very special moment in the recovery of the town through their representations.

²⁹ Bayer (1991): 192- 278. The best account on the history of the church can be found in Volta. Prestini and Begni Redona (1989): 11-60.

³⁰ Nassino, P., Registro delle Cose di Brescia, BQB, ms. C.I.15, f.18.

II. Conditions within Brescia: Brescia under Venetian Rule

So far the discussion has largely focussed on the advantages Venice derived from its possession of Brescia. There were, however, also advantages for the development of Brescia, and Brescian identity in its possession by Venice. Firstly, there were improvements to the fortifications carried out under Venetian direction, and secondly, the Venetians were concerned with resettlement of a depleted Brescia. In particular, Venice encouraged the migration of skilled metal and textile workers from the country to Brescia in order to increase population figures, as well as strengthen the economy. It has already been mentioned that, in addition, the Venetian garrisons in the Val Camonica region secured Brescian access to one of its industry's most important raw materials, iron ore. Brescia was also awarded Venetian citizenship *de intus*, that is, mutual trading rights in all towns of the *terra ferma* as well as the right to trade in Venice.³¹ This meant access to the lucrative markets of the towns of the *terra ferma*. Administrative changes gave greater powers to the Brescian city council, which, in turn benefited the leading families of Brescia. In addition, there was the frenetic building activity within the limits of the city walls, much of it instigated by the new Venetian government.

The first part of this section will consider the relations between the Brescian council and the representatives of Venice, the *podestà* and the *capitano*, which was one of the crucial political relationships of co-operation between the local government and the representatives of *La Serenissima*. The major organ of local government in Brescia was the council, and its function and membership

needs heed, especially as constitutional changes under Venetian government affected the make-up of this body. Crucially, the council and the Venetian government officials set the levels of taxation for the town. Indirectly, this had an impact on the disposable income available to Brescia's leading families, and the availability of monies for expenditure on artistic projects. At the same time as serving as an indication of available wealth in Brescia, these figures also help to establish an overview of population figures in the town. It is important to keep in mind, though, that ultimately the tax levels were set by Venice. Whatever the strategic importance of Brescia, it was also used as a source of income to help swell the coffers of the Republic, hankering after the riches previously brought in through trade overseas.

By 1426 Venice had already established precedents for the treatment of subject towns, and these were followed in the case of Brescia. Venetian practice was to maintain 'a skeletal governmental apparatus on the mainland', and at the same time to grant the subject town a high degree of administrative autonomy by leaving local government structures and privileges in place to a large extent.³² The Venetian custom of preserving, and even strengthening local autonomy, contrasted starkly with the practice of signorial governments which was one of decreasing local autonomy as this would have been an infringement of the powers of the feudal lord or Duke.³³

In the case of Brescia, as in the case of all larger towns in the *terra ferma*, this meant that Venice installed a *podestà*, responsible for the supervision of civil and judicial affairs, as well as a *capitano* who was in charge of military affairs and

³¹ Ferraro (1993): 17.

³² Ferraro (1993): 15. For Vicenza, see Grubb (1988): xviii.

finance.³⁴ Each of these officials was required, on cessation of his term of office, to present himself to the Doge and the Council of Ten, and to submit a report, in writing, on the subject town, within 10 days of his return.³⁵ These reports are a useful source of information on internal conditions in the subject town, and can be used to establish factions amongst the local nobility. Where this information is important to this thesis is in the examination of their patronage practices, in Brescia, rival political factions rarely employed the same artists.

Only eight reports by *podestà*, and seven reports by *capitani* survive for the sixteenth-century, and none for the fifteenth. A good, representative example is the report submitted by Marcantonio de Mula in 1546, who writes, for instance, on dissensions between the Martinengo and Avogadro families: 'il ben governo della città non diro per non esser troppo lungo ben exorto quelle a proveder alle dissensione et odii che sono tra la famelgia avogara et martinenga perchè il tuto ritorna danno di vostra Celsitudine'.³⁶ These families belonged traditionally to different political factions, and difficulties arose when branches of the same family were in feud with each other. Romanino was patronised by some members of the Martinengo family, but never by the Avogadro family, who instead preferred the more traditional paintings of Moretto.

It is also possible to derive information from these reports about the relationship between Venice and Brescia, and increasingly, there was much

³³ Martines (1979): 102 ff.

³⁴ Pasero (1938): 1-15.

³⁵ Vice versa, the subject town could submit a report to Venice on the conduct of the *podestà* and the *capitano*. In the case of Brescia, two of the most unpopular *podesta* during the sixteenth-century were Marco Morosini (1542) and Agostono Contarini (1558) who were sent back to Venice by the Brescians with insults. Pasero (1938): 14.

³⁶ Pasero (1938): 12.

Brescian resentment about the extraction of monies from the town. He described the difficulties of collecting the money due to Venice as follows:

La Chamera scuode di ordinario duc. 47323 grossi 13. di limitatione et talgia ducal duc. 4775 grossi 6 piccoli 3 per lira duc. 10191 grossi 7. Clero duc. 4118 sub. duc. 15 mille salli duc. 39104 (c. 2 r) in tuto duc. 171688 grossi 2 sono per me stati accresciuti i datii duc. mille et piu et et certo bisogneria remediare che li privilegiati havessino in chamera il tanto quanto portano le exention sue et piu et che il tuto si scodesse per nome di V.^a Ser.^{ia} perche ogni giorno nascono nove essentione augumenti di quelle con diverse fraudi et inganni per minatie per dinari per amitie et le ragion sue sono mal diffese.³⁷

This Brescian concern with control over their finances concurred with a period of active artistic patronage where many commissions emphasised features of particularly Brescian concern.

One administrative indication of the importance Venice attached to its Brescian possession, was the appointment of government representatives for the town. Only Venice's most important possessions had two officials, a *capitano* and a *podestà*: most *terra ferma* towns were only assigned one of these posts.³⁸ These positions were a prestigious part of administrative *cursus honorum*. Venetian patricians were expected to follow in the service of *La Serenissima*, and the Brescian offices were filled by members of some of Venice's most distinguished

³⁷ Pasero (1938): 59.

³⁸ Only larger cities, such as Brescia, Padua and Verona, were assigned two Venetian officials of the seniority of *capitano* and *podestà*. Ferraro (1993): 15.

patrician houses such as the Morosini, Contarini, Zen, Correr, Pesaro and Gradenigo.³⁹

Major policy decisions, such as the forging of alliances with other states (Foreign Policy), or the level of taxes and the ways in which fiscal income was employed rested with Venice, and particularly with the Council of Ten. These decisions were implemented and supervised by the Venetian representatives in the town. Similarly military decisions, which might affect the physical appearance and defensibility of a subject town, rested with the Venetian officials.

In domestic policy matters, though, Venice allowed a substantial degree of autonomy to its subject towns.⁴⁰ Most executive structures remained in the hands of the subject city, in particular the collection of indirect taxes, the *dazi* or *imposte* and the distribution of direct taxes. The courts of law, though under Venetian supervision, were run by the subject town. Local autonomy applied, among other acts of administration, to charitable institutions and to the granting of local citizenship.⁴¹ Further functions assigned to the local government included the control over Brescia's urban political institutions (such as the election of new council members) and the maintenance of economic links with the surrounding countryside.

The major decision-making body of internal Brescian policy was the city council, whose membership consisted entirely of Brescian citizens and nobles. membership of the council was not open to Venetian patricians.⁴² The city council

³⁹ Pasero (1938): 17.

⁴⁰ For example, see Mazzoldi (1992): 63-98.

⁴¹ Ferraro (1993): 16.

⁴² Vice versa, it was almost impossible for a citizen of a subject *terra ferma* town to gain entry into the Venetian Council prior to 1646, when membership of the Venetian Council could be purchased at 100,000 ducats. See Ferraro (1993): 17.

as a decision-making body was an influential patron of the arts in its own right as were individual members of the council.

The membership of the Brescian council was initially restricted to 72 delegates, elected, by co-option, from the most eminent families of Brescia. This council had been in existence prior to the submission of Brescia to Venetian rule, but had rarely met. Under Venetian rule, meetings of the council became more frequent. Venetian intervention, though, manifested itself in a change to the constitution of the council.⁴³ As Ferraro points out: 'whether Venetian intervention in selection procedures between 1427 and 1473 had made a radical difference in the composition of the city council still needs to be explored'.⁴⁴

The urban elite, from whom the Council members were elected, belonged to four categories. Two of these, the *nobiles*, or nobles and the *cives veteres*, or citizens of long standing, pre-dated the arrival of the Venetians. The other two groups were more recent additions to the Council: on the one hand the *bene meriti* citizens, and also a final group made up of families who were allowed to enter the Council after 1488. Both of the latter groups became eligible for election only after the submission of Brescia to Venetian rule; with the advent of Venetian policies, membership of the local council was open to more families, and the number of delegates increased. New settlers of the first decades of the Venetian rule were integrated into the already existing structures of the city, and this extended as far as making provisions for the new settlers to be represented, if to a limited extent, on the Brescian city council. In effect, Venice was instrumental in

⁴³ Pascro (1963): 112-113.

⁴⁴ Ferraro (1993): 59.

creating a new, extended urban elite, and thus fostered loyalty to Venetian rule, as well as to Brescia, particularly amongst the group of the *bene meriti* citizens

In rare instances, such as in the case of the Martinengo da Barco family, one of the oldest *nobiles* families in Brescia, the advent of the Venetians also meant political power in Venice itself. In 1498, the daughter of Leonardo q. Giovanni Martinengo da Barco married the Venetian Doge Nicola Marcello, and by 1517, the Martinengo da Barco had entered the Venetian patriciate.⁴⁵

It became necessary by 1473 to restrict access to these privileged positions. With the institution of more restrictive norms, the Brescian elite consolidated as a ruling class, and made it increasingly difficult for new families to become eligible for membership of the council. By 1488, eligibility for the council had become almost entirely closed, and the only candidates allowed from families who were not original citizens, nobles or *bene meriti*, had to be members of families who had been in Brescia for at least fifty years, and who could provide proof of the origin of their ancestors.⁴⁶ Again, these restrictions ensured that the members of the council were attached by kinship ties and property to the city. Lineage and duration of residence within Brescia became principal criteria for eligibility for council membership after 1488, but emphasis was also put on the life style and the reputation of the family. The election process largely excluded applicants from industry and commerce, but favoured applicants whose wealth was based on land rather than trade. One of the reasons for this preference of landowners over manufacturers for eligibility to the most coveted political responsibility in Brescia was the attachment of the landowner to his possessions, and the traditional feudal

⁴⁵ On the Martinengo, see Guerrini, P., Una celebre famiglia lombarda. I Conti di Martinengo Studi e ricerche genealogiche, Brescia, 1929; also, Ferraro (1993): 89-90.

status of the landowner. Socially, manufacturers and tradesmen were not acceptable as members of the city council because of the mechanical nature of their professions. The Brescian council, in line with other councils of other cities of the *terra ferma*, developed an aristocratic make-up which dominated its decisions and its priorities, and which became self-perpetuating. The notion of *civiltà* was emphasised over the mechanical origin of the wealth of the manufacturer and tradesman.⁴⁷ Despite the importance of the manufacture of textiles and arms for the economy of Brescia, then, the families engaged in these industries were, apart from special circumstances as in the case of the citizens *bene meriti*, excluded from membership of the council. In 1560, the Brescian gentleman Giacomo Lanteri summarised this attitude in his treatise Della Economica:

it appears that when reforming the statutes, our ancestors (perhaps to preserve *civiltà*, I do not know), ruled that whoever exercised any kind of mechanical art could not number among the nobles of the city. Moreover, they ruled that if a noble exercised an art, either because of poverty or some other reason, he would be deprived of *civiltà*, that is of council membership, of obtaining offices and the city's honours, and if his heirs were doctors or notaries, in the College of Doctors or Notaries, they could not in any way enter the council either.⁴⁸

It is noteworthy that in Brescia, as in Verona, membership of the council did not necessarily translate into automatic membership of the nobility.⁴⁹ The different

⁴⁶ Ferraro (1993): 59.

⁴⁷ Donati, C., L'idea di nobiltà in Italia, secoli XIV- XVIII, Rome and Bari, 1988.

⁴⁸ Ferraro (1993): 63. G. Lanteri, Della Economica, Venice, Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1560.

⁴⁹ For further discussion, see Berengo (1975): 493-517, Grubb (1988): 86-88, Ferraro (1993): 52, n.4.

social classes within Brescia were all represented, but representation on the council did not alter the existing power balance between the represented families. Indeed, powerful families with extensive holdings in the Bresciano, with privileges granted to them by Venice, were not represented in the Council, but members of small, ostensibly less powerful families from *bene meriti* background were represented on the council. At the same time, there were numerous families of the feudal nobility, with extensive land holdings in the Bresciano who were represented on the council, and numerous small, urban families of *bene meriti* status who were not. It is thus not possible to equate political franchise with the status of nobility, and neither is it possible to assume that membership of the council was only open to the wealthy Brescian families. Maurizio Pegrari has undertaken a study of the various tax estimates returned by politically active Brescian families, and these tables supply interesting information relating to the income, and the political power of these various families (see appendix 1).⁵⁰ It becomes clear from Pegrari's table how disparate the incomes of these various families were. The information supplied by this table also gives an overview over the financial fortunes of the one hundred or more listed families, and the common trend is towards an increase in their income during the sixteenth-century. This meant more ready availability of monies for patronage of artistic projects.

Although Brescian citizens were never given full Venetian citizenship, they were nevertheless awarded the status of Venetian citizens *de intus*. This meant that Brescians had gained the right to trade with other cities of the *terra ferma*, and it also gave them access to the lucrative Venetian market. A good indication of the prosperity of a local economy in the *terra ferma*, and thus, its ability to

⁵⁰ Pegrari (1988): 233-237, tables 1-3

spend on the arts, is an examination of the levels of taxation set by Venice. It was the privilege of the Venetian *Collegio* and the Council of Ten to determine the amount of taxes to be levied from each of the subject cities of the *terra ferma*. The level of taxes raised from a town related both to the number of inhabitants and the strength of a town's industry: it was not in Venetian interests to alienate local populations through exorbitant exploitation.

Taxation levels can be linked to population figures: prior to the arrival of Venice, Brescia's economic situation had deteriorated through the migration of highly skilled metal and textile workers to Milan, and in general, population figures had severely dropped after occurrences of the plague in 1397 and 1428, and the siege of 1426. According to figures supplied by Carlo Pasero, an *estimo* of the population of Brescia in 1388, carried out under the Visconti regime, counted 2065 families (estimated at 10,000 inhabitants), 135 of whom belonged to the class of the *nobiles*. By 1406 these figures had dropped to include only 1664 families, and by 1430, Pasero lists 1230 heads of families, or 6,150 inhabitants of Brescia.⁵¹ Pasero's figures are backed up by Vasco Frati who also points to the general decline in Brescian population figures prior to the arrival of the Venetians.⁵² The population figures for Brescia under the signorial rule of the Visconti had thus been on a steady decline, both because of natural causes such as disease (occurrences of the plague were reported for 1397, 1400 and 1413), and also, as has already been mentioned, because of the migration of highly skilled craftsmen to Milan to supply the demands of the court. Pasero attributes the

⁵¹ Pasero (1961): 75 ff.

⁵² Frati, Massa, Piovaneli and Robecchi, (1989): 64

migration of the metalworkers to Milan in particular to excessively high taxes on their trades when practised in subject towns.⁵³

As a result of the decline of the numbers of inhabitants, the defensive potential of Brescia was severely compromised, and the economic potential of the town was not fulfilled. Indeed, the taxability and value of Brescia as a source of income for Venice was impaired, and measures were taken to reverse this trend. One of the first steps Venice took to encourage settlement in Brescia was to grant Brescian, and thus Venetian *de intus* citizenship to settlers with trades.⁵⁴ The class of the citizens *bene meriti*, citizens rewarded for honourable conduct and presence during the siege, was introduced in 1440.⁵⁵ By 1459, 5,721 heads of families (or 28,000 inhabitants) are recorded for Brescia, and population figures continued to rise steadily throughout the fifteenth-century. By the sixteenth-century, Brescia was, after Verona, the second-biggest town of the *terra ferma*.⁵⁶ The figures returned by the Venetian *podestà* for 1495, Andrea Barbarigo, listed 48,560 inhabitants of Brescia.⁵⁷

The economic benefits to Venice as a result of increased population figures, and thus, higher fiscal income for *La Serenissima*, was that Brescia, with the Bresciano, became responsible for almost a quarter of the revenues raised from the *terra ferma*, with only Padua and Verona comparable as sources of income, as is illustrated in the table below.

⁵³ Pasero (1961): 74.

⁵⁴ The extent of the influx into Brescia of these new settlers can be deducted from the population figures for Brescia, and the granting of new citizenships. Pasero provides some rough figures while in 1430, there were 1230 heads of families (ca. 6,150 people), within a few years the trend had been reversed, and by 1434, the figures list 1607 heads of families, or more than 8,000 inhabitants. Pasero (1961): 75 ff.

⁵⁵ Pasero (1961): 78.

⁵⁶ Muir (1993): 30 n.28.

⁵⁷ Pasero (1961): 82.

TABLE 1. Income from the Terraferma in Venetian Budgets, 1469.⁵⁸

City or Territory	Gross in Ducats	(%)	Net in Ducats	(%)
Brescia	75,000	24.9	58,991	24.8
Crema	7,400	2.5	3,500	1.5
Padua	65,000	21.7	50,900	21.4
Patria del Friuli	7,500	2.5	1,100	0.5
Ravenna	9,140	3.0	6,290	2.6
Treviso	49,850	16.5	38,530	16.2
Verona	52,800	17.5	51,000	21.5
Vicenza	34,600	11.5	27,150	11.4
	_____		_____	
Totals	301,790		237,461	

The table is incomplete as the figures are missing for numerous towns of the *terra ferma*, but the importance of Brescia as a source of revenues is nevertheless apparent, since Brescia provided 24.8% of *terra ferma* revenues, as opposed to 21.5% of fiscal income provided by Verona, which was the bigger town of the two.⁵⁹ It has already been established that Brescia was experiencing an economic boom in the fifteenth-century, suggesting that the figures given above are a good indication of Brescia's ability to pay high taxes because of high Brescian income, and it does not indicate (at least for the fifteenth-century) a rapacious Venetian

⁵⁸ The table is taken from Muir (1993): 62-65.

⁵⁹ The trend reversed in the late sixteenth-century, when Venetian income from Verona exceeded income from Brescia. Chambers and Pullan (1992): 148-152. For the population figures for Verona, see Muir (1993): 30 n.28.

economic policy.⁶⁰ Brescia's role as a lucrative source of income for Venice remained important throughout the sixteenth-century, and it provided, according to the figures given by Muir, 22.7% in 1500, and 25.4% in 1582 of the total income from the *terra ferma* for Venice.⁶¹ Indeed, the Venetian patrician Alvise Valaresso who served a term as *capitano* of Brescia in 1628 described it as the 'golden ass' of the Republic.⁶²

The discussion of Brescia in the political shadow of *La Serenissima* has so far concentrated on the benefits of Venetian rule. While the positive effect of Venetian rule on developments in Brescia cannot be denied, it is nevertheless important to point out, that Venetian rule did also, at the same time, cause problems for the subject town. In the case of Brescia, for instance, the same influx of great numbers of new settlers that stabilised the economy and made up dwindling population figures, also caused social difficulties and tensions within the town. The loss of control of the subject town over levels of taxation meant that Brescian profit margins were dependent on Venetian fiscal goodwill and when the taxation levels did become too heavy in the seventeenth-century, skilled metal workers did once again start to emigrate to Milan. These are just some of the problems which resulted from Venetian rule in Brescia, but any such local problems had to be dealt with by the subject city, and were of no interest to Venice. While there was great loyalty in Brescia towards Venice, there was also, at the same time, resistance to Venetian rule.⁶³ Nowhere did this become more clear than in the events leading up to French rule of the town in 1509, when part

⁶⁰ See the discussion in Ferraro (1993): 35-47; also, Zanelli (1912): 30-100.

⁶¹ Muir (1993): 62-65.

⁶² Ferraro (1993): 25.

⁶³ Zanelli (1912): 30-100; Mazzoldi (1967): 261-281.

of the Brescian population remained loyal to Venetian rule, and other parts of the population welcomed the French instead, possibly as a result of somewhat Machiavellian 'Realpolitik' motives. The ambiguity and tension in relations between Brescia and Venice found its clearest expression in the reorganisation of public spaces within the subject town. Ultimately, it was because of the transformations in governmental structures and religious practices, which stemmed from the fifteenth-century, that decisive changes in attitudes towards the town itself and also towards Brescian history occurred and bore fruit in the sixteenth-century.

III. The Renaissance City and Its Appearance

The first map of Brescia that depicts the town with attention to urban features dates from 1472 (fig. 13).⁶³ It shows Brescia and the Bresciano as defined by mountain ranges in the North, and circumscribed by rivers to the West and South, and Lake Garda to the East. The major settlements in the area are depicted as either fortresses or churches, and the relative size of the settlements is indicated by the size of the icon used to mark the position of the settlement. Brescia itself is represented in the upper part of the map, and is placed in a central position. Great detail is lavished on the depiction of its fortifications: the *castello*, the town hall of the Broletto, and the fort of the Garzetta are all clearly recognisable. Similar care has also been expended on the depiction of the interior walls of the citadel, the moat to the south of Brescia and the location of the various gates into the town. The emphasis is almost exclusively on the military features of Brescia, while scant attention has been paid to any other details of the urban landscape of the town. However cursory the treatment of the urban landscape, the map does give an indication of how much the surrounding walls determined the spaces available for building within Brescia. One of the ways of demonstrating the change of political adherence of the town is to consider the appearance and organisation of the urban spaces available for building.

The discussion in this section will thus briefly consider the ways in which the appearance of Brescia changed in the period immediately after the arrival of the Venetians and prior to the Sack of 1512. It will be argued that the scope, and the nature of some of the major building projects undertaken in the course of the

⁶³ The map is painted on parchment, and dated '1472' in the bottom right-hand corner. BQB, ms. H.V.5. Lucchesi-Ragni (1998): 20-21.

fifteenth-century communicated a new appreciation of, and pride in, their town amongst Brescians.

As has been outlined above, Brescia was granted a greater degree of political autonomy under Venetian rule than it had been given under the signorial rule of the Visconti, or any of its other previous rulers. One of the first manifestations of this new political autonomy was expressed in reactions to the most prominent architectural symbol of Visconti rule, an interior circle of fortified walls, which enclosed the political and religious heart of Brescia (today's Piazza Paolo VI) (fig.14).⁶⁴ Enclosed within this citadel were the two cathedrals of Brescia, as well as the Broletto, the seat of the signorial governments.⁶⁵ The Brescians petitioned the Doge in 1427 for permission to demolish the walls of the citadel, describing them as a hated symbol of Visconti rule, but this petition was not granted.⁶⁶ As has been discussed by Nicolai Rubinstein in his examination of 'Fortified Enclosures in Italian Cities', the Brescians argued that permission to demolish the walls of the citadel would once more restore access to the ancient palace of the Commune, the Broletto, to the citizens of the town. Where before the walls of the citadel had symbolised the 'perversity and insolence of the tyrants', the open spaces cleared through destruction of these walls would instead have come to symbolise the restoration

⁶⁴ An interesting discussion of the symbolic connotations of castles is Woods-Marsden (1987) 130-137.

⁶⁵ It has been argued that the purpose of this inner circle of walls which linked the castello to the city walls at the south, and the small fortress of the Garzetta there, which had also been built by the Visconti, was to provide an escape route out of the city for the signorial ruler, as well as to fortify the political and religious centre of the town against opposition from within Brescia. Bayer also points out that the interior walls of Brescia separated the traditionally Ghibelline and Guelf areas of Brescia, with the Ghibellines to the East of the citadel. Valentini (1904): 19; Pasero (1963): 240; Bayer (1991): 10-11, n.9.

⁶⁶ The petition is quoted in Zanelli (1898): 207-222; Rubinstein (1993): 6.

of Brescian freedom granted by Venice.⁶⁷ The walls of the citadel were not pulled down until the end of the second decade of the sixteenth-century (one assumes for military reasons), but access to the cathedrals and the Broletto was made possible through the three gates of Santo Stefano to the East, and Porta Bruciata and Paganora to the West.⁶⁸ The Venetians did take account, however, of the symbolic association of the Broletto with former, tyrannical, rule of Brescia. Its own government officials did not reside in the Broletto, but instead, the *capitano*, in keeping with his military responsibilities, lodged in the castle. The *podestà*, until 1596, stayed in a palace in the *contrada* of S. Agata. Plans to accommodate the *podestà* on Piazza del Loggia failed, and in 1596, he was moved to quarters in the Broletto instead. At the end of the sixteenth-century, though, the Broletto no longer stood as a memorial to tyrannical Visconti rule.⁶⁹

As early as 1433, that is within 7 years of Venetian rule over Brescia, the Venetian *podestà* Marco Foscari suggested to the Council that a central square, the modern Piazza del Loggia, be created. Foscari described the city as 'multum famosa et magnifica civitas, sed deformata et inordinata' and argued that there was a distinct need for the creation of the piazza as a centre of communal life.⁷⁰ This proposal can be seen as a reaction to the Brescian petition of 1427, which demanded the razing of the interior walls of the citadel. The suggested piazza was a compromise: the proposal fell short of destruction of walls which were of strategic importance, yet the new piazza relocated the focus for political life in

⁶⁷ The petition also declared that the Brescians had been deprived of access to their cathedral churches, San Pietro in Dom and the Rotonda, the bishop's palace and the chapter houses: 'cum cives et comunitas Brix. supplicantes privati fuerint hactenus protervitate et insolentia tyrannorum ... necnon de pallatio veteri comunis, in quo iura semper reddebantur ante tempus captionis Bernabonis, propter clausuram videlicet murorum et circuitus urbicule in quo fuerunt dicte ecclesie, domus et palacium introcluse', Rubinstein, (1993): 6, n.44.

⁶⁸ Boschi, (1988): 35.

⁶⁹ Zamboni (1771, reprinted 1975): 21-22. See also Bayer (1991): 58-59.

⁷⁰ Odorici (1853-59): 212, n.2.

Brescia to a new site without Visconti associations. The old, medieval lanes of the area surrounding the market gave way, in the course of the fifteenth-century, to a new look Renaissance square, in keeping with contemporary concerns about the appearance of the 'ideal city'.⁷¹ Boschi summarises the function of the piazza saying 'la piazza è il centro della città, della sua vita commerciale, "ornata di fondaci e onorevoli esercizi"; il palazzo signorile, la cattedrale, la loggia, la caserma, la prigione, gli edifici pubblici sono la piazza'.⁷² The liberating effect of the creation of the piazza as a new civic centre for Brescian civic awareness is summarised by Frati who describes the need for the piazza as a new beginning for Brescia: 'della "deformazione" provocata da un regime odiato bisognava liberare la città dandole una nuova forma, capace di dialogare con rinnovato decoro con la razionalità dell'impianto progettato nel Medioevo'.⁷³

Further improvements to the square included the erection of a clock tower in 1437, and the construction of a '*muricciolo*', a low wall, for the purpose of providing a comfortable place to sit down. Also, in 1466, the new Piazza del Loggia was connected with the Piazza del Duomo by constructing a new gate in the walls of the citadel, to allow through-access, thus combining the old and the new civic and ecclesiastic centres of the city.⁷⁴

To add emphasis to this new focus a new loggia was built adjacent to the piazza, 'una Loggia fabbricata in bella forma, come era costumato dalle altre città, sotto cui i Rettori, e i Cittadini ricoverar si potessero per diffendersi dai

⁷¹ A similar measure was taken in Ferrara by Duke Ercole I d'Este in 1472, who cleared an area in front of the church of San Giuliano of market stalls, and moved the meat market to a new location. The cleared piazza was paved, and lined with new shops. In both cases, crowded, medieval lanes and market stalls gave way to open, Renaissance piazze. Rosenberg (1997): 111-113.

⁷² Boschi (1988): 40.

⁷³ Frati, Massa, Piovanelli and Robecchi (1989): 65. Frati here summarises the sentiments expressed in the petition of 1427.

⁷⁴ Frati, Massa, Piovanelli and Robecchi (1989): 65.

raggi del Sol cocente, e dalla piovosa stagione'.⁷⁵ This commission went to the Vicentine architect Niccolò Lupi in 1434, and within 2 years, the Loggia, described as 'magnifica et bellissima' was finished.⁷⁶ Yet, unlike the previous seat of government, the Broletto, the Palazzo della Loggia never served as living quarters for government officials. In stark contrast to the enclosed spaces of the Broletto, the Palazzo della Loggia was accessible to the citizens, and the space was used for communal and educational purposes: by the end of the fifteenth-century classes took place under the arches of the Loggia. Giovanni Tavere di Rovato taught Latin and Greek. His classes were open to Brescian citizens, and he taught for three hours a week.⁷⁷

This building no longer survives, as the existing palace had become too small by 1492. The original palace was destroyed to give way to a more magnificent, larger building which still provides the focus of the Piazza del Loggia today (fig. 15).⁷⁸ With the provision of an open central square and palace as the location for the new secular authorities of Brescia, the piazza came to be seen as a symbolic expression of freedom from Visconti rule. The location of the

⁷⁵ Frati, Massa, Piovanelli and Robecchi (1989): 65.

⁷⁶ Vannini (1971): 308. For more detail on the Loggia, see also, Begni Redona, P.V., Il Palazzo della 'Loggia' di Brescia, Brescia, 1986.

⁷⁷ Boschi, (1988): 40 ff.

⁷⁸ The name of the architect of the new Palazzo della Loggia is not known, but amongst the artists involved in its execution were Tommaso Formenton from Vicenza who executed a wooden model of the Palazzo in 1489-92; the Milanese Filippo Grassi and Gasparo Coirano and the Bergamasque Bernardino da Martinengo. Lucchesi Ragni (1998): 61-66. Boschi (1988): 40. One of the architects to have been associated with the continuing construction work on the Palazzo del Loggia in the sixteenth-century was Andrea Palladio, but the exact degree of his involvement in the planning of the upper levels is uncertain. The building was finally completed in 1574, under the direction of Lodovico Beretta. The exterior of the Palazzo is lavishly decorated in local Botticino marble, and extensive works were also carried out inside. In 1564, Titian painted three allegories for the Palazzo della Loggia, which depicted the Apotheosis of Brescia, and also included a representation of Agrarian Brescia and Brescia and its Arms Manufacture. All three images celebrated the main sources of Brescian economic prosperity, but fell victim to a disastrous fire in 1575 which also destroyed the distinctive lead roof of the Palazzo del Loggia. Tietze-Conrat (1954): 209-210; Pasero (1952): 49-87.

seat of government had changed within the town, and this seat of government was accessible to the citizens of the town.

Florianò Ferramola captured the appearance of the square during a tournament in 1509 (fig.16): the open space in front of the (incomplete) Palazzo della Loggia, missing its characteristic lead roof, is taken up by jousting. What are clearly visible in the background are the walls of the Visconti citadel so contested by the Brescians in 1427. Yet the military function of these walls is mocked on this occasion, as they have become convenient vantage points for a number of spectators. Further spectators are gathered either at open windows of houses overlooking the square, or the more courageous ones are perched on the roofs. Ferramola emphasises the peaceful gathering of large numbers of citizens of Brescia, who have assembled to attend a display of chivalric competition. In stark contrast to the enclosed spaces of the Visconti tyranny, symbolised by the inclusion of restrictive walls topped with battlements in the background of the image, the square in front of the new seat of government is open, inviting, and the scene of much jocular and playful competition. It is even safe enough for female visitors to attend the event. The architectural contrasts within this single scene, between the open space provided under Venetian government, and the forbidding battlements of the Visconti, can thus be read as a comment on the different types of government experienced by the town. The more successful form of government is the Venetian one as the battlements of the citadel have been taken over by the citizens to watch a spectacle on the square below.

The creation of the piazza came to be seen as a manifestation of the new, better times which had arrived with the Venetian Republic. At the same time, as the location of the seat of the Brescian government, it also served as a fitting

statement of Brescian importance and dignity. On this, Richard Goldthwaite commented that

urban renewal was a way to celebrate the consolidation of power by the local oligarchy, even if under the auspices of an outside government. In these places where the establishment of 'foreign rule', far from uprooting the power structure, stabilised the local political scene by ending factionalism and by assuring a certain protection from abroad, oligarchies now confirmed their authority in architectural projects'.⁷⁹

He continues: 'the establishment of the Venetian state in the later fifteenth-century was the occasion for celebration by local elites; and the ruling class in Vicenza, Brescia, Bergamo, and other towns found an appropriate expression of the new arrangement in public building, often in imitation of Venetian models'.

The importance of the piazza for contemporary Brescians went beyond its symbolic assertion of a new government, though. The piazza became the seat of the local government, the meeting place of the council. Following the construction of the Palazzo del Loggia, further buildings were completed on this square, most importantly, the Monte di Pietà (fig.17). The building was erected on one of the longitudinal sides of the square by Filippo de' Grassi between 1484 and 1489.⁸⁰

The Monte di Pietà, or Christian loan bank, served a charitable function, and was a Brescian, not Venetian institution. With the erection of this building, the piazza was claimed by the local government as a location where decisions

⁷⁹ Goldthwaite (1993): 188.

concerning its people were taken, and where charity was extended towards its citizens. The emerging iconography of the square was thus Brescian, not Venetian. This can be observed in the construction of the building itself. The Brescian Monte di Pietà is unique in that parts of its exterior walls were constructed by using blocks of stone bearing Latin epigraphs excavated in the city. To that effect, the council had passed a decree on 13 October 1480 that all recovered stones with Roman inscriptions were to be collected, and were neither to be sold nor donated, but to be used for the construction of public buildings, 'conservari debeant pro fabricis publicis communitatis nostrae'.⁸¹ Instrumental for the implementation of this degree was the group of 'antiquarians' around Ottavio Rossi, which also included Martino Basso, Sebastiano Aragonese, and Il Totti.⁸² Indeed, the walls of the Brescian Monte di Pietà make up Italy's first lapidary museum.

The construction of this loan bank from 1484, marks a crucial turning point for any discussion on manifestations of a 'Brescian identity'. By the 1480's, there was a pronounced interest in local history, and a revival or renaissance, of its classical past. The richness of Brescian Roman history can today be seen in the newly refurbished monastery of Santa Giulia, which serves as the *Museo della Città*, where over 1200 Roman inscriptions are preserved which make Brescia the second-richest town for Roman finds after Aquileia in what was

⁸⁰ On the importance of the Monti of the Veneto, see Pullan (1971): 429-625. See also, Albin (1985): 67-112.

⁸¹ The decree reads:

Captum fuit nemine discrepante, quod lapides laborati nuper sub terra reperti ed inde extracti apud domum communis nostri, in qual sa venditur conservari debeant pro fabricis publicis communitatis nostrae; et quod aliquo modo donari vendi vel alienari non possint et quod pars aliqua poni non possit de donando vendendo vel alienando aliquem ex dictis lapidibus, nisi prius volens ponere partem huiusmodi depositaverit ducatos duos pro quolibet lapide, qui deveniant in commune, sive capta sive reprobata fuerit.

Passamani (1988): 343.

Cisalpine Gaul. Brescia is also unique in that buildings such as Vespasian's forum have survived, but the impact of these classical ruins on artists in Brescia has yet to be examined.⁸³

Furthermore, the town gained in importance as a publishing centre, with its presses being licensed to print 260 works between 1470 and 1500. Printing houses such as the Butzbach, Gallo, Bonino de'Bonini and Britannici published editions of Juvenal and Virgil in 1473, Sallust in 1475 and Lucan in 1486, to name just a few examples.⁸⁴ Brescia occupied, in fact, the fifth position amongst Italian printing centres.⁸⁵ These presses remained active throughout the sixteenth-century also, and apart from editions on classical authors, Brescia was an important centre for the publication of devotional tracts. It is therefore not surprising to note that many of the altarpieces, which will be discussed in later chapters, contain large numbers of books. It is also a distinctive feature of Brescian paintings to include Latin epigraphs, many of which resemble the epigraphs built into the walls of the Monte di Pietà, and which would have reminded the local onlooker of the past of the town.

With the construction of the Monte di Pietà, a building not inspired by political necessity as regards Venice, but instead one which reflected needs for the demonstration of philanthropy within Brescia, the town started to emerge from the shadow of *La Serenissima*, and to assert its own artistic style. The Monte di Pietà became a Brescian commission not because of the fact of it having been constructed in the first place, but because of the ways in which it had been built by integrating remnants of Brescia's very own, distinguished

⁸² Boschi (1988): 33.

⁸³ Passamani (1988): 341-354.

⁸⁴ Passamani (1988): 343.

⁸⁵ I am grateful to Martin Lowry (University of Warwick) for this communication.

classical past. In contrast, as has been discussed by Fortini Brown, the Venetian lack of a classical past resulted in an extremely complex relationship to its own past.⁸⁶

However, it must be added that the religious orders, confraternities and other charitable associations based in the parishes of Brescia also contributed to the building activities and the improvement of the appearance of the Renaissance town. Through the contribution of secular and ecclesiastical authorities and organisations, a Renaissance 'look' of Brescia was cultivated as an expression of the community's sense and identity of its own.

Brescian identity has thus been defined as a hybrid conception of the importance of the town in the shadow of its political overlord, *La Serenissima*. It has been argued that the civic improvements, which shaped the appearance of Brescia in the fifteenth-century, particularly the erection of new public buildings such as the Palazzo del Loggia and Monte di Pietà, were instrumental factors in the development of a new civic awareness amongst Brescian citizens. A crucial underlying factor which contributed to this civic awareness and pride, was the economic prosperity and political stability of Brescia under Venetian rule, which in turn resulted in the more ready availability of patronage.

At the same time, however, the nature of the relationship of Brescia, the subject town with its political overlord, *La Serenissima*, began to change in cultural and artistic terms. The culmination of all the factors discussed meant that Brescia started to assert its own artistic personality by emphasising factors which were particularly Brescian and peculiar to local circumstances. This was to bear fruit particularly in the works of Romanino and Moretto in the first few decades

⁸⁶ Brown (1996): 59-64; Brown (1984): 261-294.

of the sixteenth-century, when both of these masters became the fountain heads of a flourishing local school of painting. It can be argued that Venice's policy of minimal administrative interference into local strife and problems allowed for the subject towns of the *terra ferma* to foster and to develop their own identities which were separate from that of the political overlord. This found an expression in patterns of urban development on the one hand and commissions for painting on the other. Amongst the requisites for a flourishing local school of art is, on the one hand, the need to state themes of local importance, but on the other hand, in order to commission art, there need to be patrons with money to spend. In the case of Brescia, both of these conditions were only met after submission of the town to Venetian rule, which brought about a stabilisation of the political situation in Brescia, and most importantly, prosperity for the town's economy.

IV. Vincenzo Foppa and the Origins of the Brescian School of Painting

While the move away from the Milanese Visconti dynasty and the subsequent political affiliation with Venice found an expression in architecture as early as the 1480s, it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth-century that a local school of painters had become established. Vincenzo Foppa's repatriation to Brescia in 1489 marked the beginnings of the establishment of a visual identity in Brescia in paintings which contrasted starkly, and one assumes deliberately, with the images produced at the Milanese court.

Foppa was born in Brescia around 1427, but he had been mainly active, throughout his career, in Pavia and Milan where he worked for the courts of Francesco and Galeazzo Maria Sforza. Foppa's decision to seek work outside his native town in the middle of the fifteenth-century can be interpreted as much as a manifestation of a lack of an established school of painting in Brescia, as an indication that favourable commissions had to be sought elsewhere.⁸⁷ By 1480, though, the town's fortunes had sufficiently recovered to invest into the improvement of public services as well as in the adornment of the town. Foppa's arrival marked a reversal in patterns of patronage.⁸⁸ Previously, important commissions, such as for prestigious altarpieces, had been contracted out to imported artists. For example, Gentile da Fabriano had been called on to decorate

⁸⁷ See, for example, the discussion of the Renaissance court in Cole (1995): 7-14; Welch (1997): 219-37; Welch (1995): 212 ff.

⁸⁸ On the impact of Foppa's return on Brescian painting, see: Gregori (1986): 9-16

the chapel of the Broletto in 1412, or Jacopo Bellini, in 1444, to furnish an altarpiece of the Annunciation at San Alessandro.

On 18 December 1489, Giovanni Cristoforo da Cazzago and Emmanuele de Lanis brought his petition for repatriation before the Brescian council. Foppa also sought permission to open a school in order to teach painting and architecture, at a fixed salary, for the remainder of his life.⁸⁹ Foppa's petition for repatriation was granted, and in addition, in response to his wish to open a school, the Brescian Council settled an annual allowance of 100 Lire Planet on him.⁹⁰ Foppa was thus engaged to fill the post of the official painter to the Brescian Commune, a job specially created for him. This office had been established in emulation of the office of painter to the Venetian state, held by Giovanni Bellini in Venice until his death in 1516 and like Bellini, Foppa was expected to work for the Commune, and to teach and to practise his art in Brescia.⁹¹ The office of the painter to the commune was short-lived, though: in 1494 payments to Foppa had to be suspended by the Commune of Brescia as the pressing need for more money for the army resulted in higher taxation levels from Venice.⁹² While the office of painter to the commune was soon abolished and never revived, the Council did employ, from 1530, a *superstes fabricae murorum*, a supervisor to building work, who was in effect an architect to the commune. The *superstes* received a monthly salary and was responsible not only for works on the fortifications, but also for all construction work carried out by the city council, such as works on the Palazzo del Loggia, the two cathedrals, and

⁸⁹ Ffoulkes and Maiocchi (1909): 183.

⁹⁰ Ffoulkes and Maiocchi (1909): 165.

⁹¹ On Giovanni Bellini, see Goffen, R., Giovanni Bellini, New Haven and London, 1989.

⁹² Ffoulkes and Maiocchi (1909): 189-191.

the fort of the Garzetta.⁹³ This seems to indicate that the priorities of the council lay with the appearance of the Renaissance city and with urban development.

The question remains, though, as to why Foppa approached the council in the first place: Brescia's economic situation might have sufficiently improved in the fifteenth-century to offer plenty of employment to painters, yet at the time of his repatriation, he was a celebrated artist at the Milanese court. Even more, he had gained citizenship of Pavia as a special mark of favour from the duchess, and seemed guaranteed lucrative employment.

It appears that Foppa experienced considerable financial difficulties during his last decade in Milan, and at the same time, he watched the arrival of Leonardo da Vinci, whose stylistic innovations soon made Foppa's own art look dated and old-fashioned (figs. 18; 19). Working practices at the court of Milan also disadvantaged the Brescian master: Milanese practice was to offer court commissions for tender, which meant that artists had to bid in consortia for available work. The commission was usually awarded to the consortium offering the best (this translates as cheapest) terms. As a result, the artists in the consortium had to work in similar styles to ensure uniformity of the collaborative project. This method of patronage allowed the court to put 'visual controls' in place, and to effectively control its appearance. With the arrival of Leonardo in the early 1480s tastes changed decisively. Foppa found himself increasingly out on a limb, and in need of money.

The attractiveness of a position in his native Brescia to Foppa is clear, yet it must be emphasised that the arrangement was equally advantageous to the

⁹³ The first *supperstes fabricae murorum* was nominated in 1523, but did not take up his post until 1530. Amongst the holders of the office in the sixteenth-century were some of the leading Brescian architects: Agostino Castelli was succeeded by Stefano Lamberti who held the office

council. In Foppa, they gained the services of an experienced master, used to managing large-scale projects, and capable of supervising a large workshop. While not much is known about his activities as a teacher of architecture, and little survives of his large scale secular fresco decorations for the old Palazzo della Loggia, within a generation of Foppa's arrival in Brescia, a strong, flourishing school of local painters had been established. One suspects that one of Foppa's attractions was the visual distinctiveness of his art which set him apart from both the fashionable contemporary Milanese and Venetian styles. Instead, Foppa's art laid the foundation stone for a Brescian style, which found its fullest expression in the works produced by Romanino and Moretto a generation later.

One work which combines the strong political associations of the Piazza del Loggia with a distinctive style is Moretto's Murder of the Innocents (fig.20). He painted the work for San Giovanni Evangelista in 1531-32. The altarpiece was commissioned by the brothers Innocenzo and Giovanni Casari, both clergy in San Giovanni Evangelista. They were executors of the will of their nephew Giovanni Innocenzo, who had died, prematurely, at the age of 17, on 19 September 1530. Numerous interpretations of the altarpiece have failed to pick up on the setting of the slaughter of the children of Bethlehem in the clearly recognisable Piazza del Loggia.⁹⁴

The traditional stance taken by art critics in the discussion of the painting is to follow the lead of Bernardino Faino, a seventeenth-century Brescian writer who wrote a guidebook to the local churches: 'vi è in questa chiesa una paletta di

until 1538. Lodovico Beretta remained in office until 1570, and was then replaced by Giovanni Maria Piantavigna. Boschi (1988): 43.

⁹⁴ One exception is Begni Redona, who, in his extensive 1988 study on Moretto, includes a reference to the setting, and states that 'la tipologia architettonica potrebbe essere stata mutuata dagli edifici di piazza della Loggia di Brescia, che in quegli anni presentava ancora la torretta dell'Orologio, con le tre arcate alla base, così com'è testimoniata dalla iconografia coeva'. He

mano del Moretto dipintovi l'ucisione degli nocenti, cosa tanto pulita e ben fatta che pare di manno di Raffaello'.⁹⁵ Since the seventeenth-century, the sole concern of the critics has been to draw attention to the Raphaelesque elements in the image, and to speculate on Moretto's visual sources.⁹⁶ The writings of Crowe and Cavalcaselle are quoted as an example of this tendency. They stated in 1871 that

life and energetic motion are displayed in the person of the soldiers, firmness and elasticity in the frame and limb of the boy in the clouds; and there is so much Umbrian sentiment in the setting of the groups, in the tasteful choice of dress and headgear, that Moretto may be suspected of having seen some of Raphael's prints and sketches.⁹⁷

This approach fails to recognise the information the images themselves convey about local concerns of the Brescian patrons.

One clue as to an alternative interpretation of the scene is a letter written by Innocenzo Casari, one of the patrons, in 1512. Innocenzo Casari was, by then, in the Augustinian convent of San Giovanni Evangelista and, in a lengthy letter, he recounted his experiences during the Sack of Brescia in 1512. Casari reported of the seizure of the convent, and the demands for treasures from the church. He also mentioned over a hundred deaths in the cathedral, and the plundering of the

does not comment further on the implication of this observation, though. Begni Redona (1988) 254.

⁹⁵ Faino, B., Catalogo delle Chiese ruerite in Brescia, Brescia, 1630-69. Published as supplement to CAB, 1961, ed. Camillo Bosselli. Also, Faino, B., Pitture nelle Chiese di Brescia, Brescia, 1630-69.

⁹⁶ Faino, B., Catalogo delle Chiese ruerite in Brescia, et delle Pitture et Scolture memorabili, che si uedono in esse in questi tempi, 1603-69. Begni Redona (1988): 254.

⁹⁷ Begni Redona (1988): 254.

treasuries of churches.⁹⁸ Casari's personal experience of the Sack of 1512 finds its visualisation in Moretto's depiction of a crowded, confusing scene, which shows soldiers stabbing into a crowd of old and young women, children and babies. Some of the women have fallen to the ground in an attempt to defend themselves, but the general impression is not one of an outrage done to the children alone, but one of a scene of general murder and violence. The setting of this scene in Brescia makes this 'Murder of Innocents' a crime committed in Brescia. It thus becomes a comment on the Sack of Brescia in 1512. The Piazza del Loggia, the centre of Brescia's civic and ecclesiastical life, is witness to atrocities which deny the positive image of the location which had been cultivated in works such as Ferramola's *Tournament in Brescia* (fig. 16). Through his choice of the setting, the *Murder of the Innocents* becomes a poignant comment on the immediate past of the native town. It also serves as memento to the people who had suffered in the Sack of Brescia, here presented as an outrageous crime committed against the people of Brescia and the city itself. Both the people and the city, in the form of the Palazzo del Loggia, are the protagonists of the image, and the violation of the peace affects both the people and the town.

It can be argued further in support of this view that the cross-bearing infant Christ who appears surrounded by a mandorla in the top-half of the image, is a reference to the biblical events reported in the gospels. The inscription above the head of Christ, however, refers not to the story of the Murder of the Innocents as told in Matt 2,16, but quotes instead Ps. 24,21, 'INNOCENTES ET RECTI/ ADHESERUNT/MIHI'.

⁹⁸ The letter is published by Guerrini (1922), 266-300.

This phrase is not part of the mass for the day, and does also not appear in any of the local offices for the Feast of the Holy Innocents. Instead, Moretto's Murder of the Innocents for San Giovanni Evangelista is a poignant reminder of the murder of innocent civilians as well as being a personal memento for another innocent, Giovanni Innocenzo, who died prematurely. In this case, art and politics do combine to allow a new reading of a familiar theme.

The last words of this chapter are left to Lionello Puppi, who stated that 'patronage is above all an urban phenomenon, and even though it evolved through a combination of factors too complex and intricate to be reduced to a single and rigid scheme, the feature of particular interest here is the element of cultural challenge'.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Puppi (1983): 22.

Chapter 2

Romanino and the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua, 1513-1560

Ceterum ad perfectionem conversationis qui festinat, sunt doctrinae sanctorum Patrum, quarum observatio perducatur hominem ad celsitudinem perfectionis. Quae enim pagina, aut qui sermo divinae auctoritatis Veteris ac Novi testamenti, non est rectissima norma vitae humanae? Aut quis liber Sanctorum catholicorum Patrum hoc non resonat, ut recto cursu perveniamus ad Creatorem nostrum?

St. Benedict¹

¹ San Benedetto Abate, Regola monasteriorum, Italian translation by the Benedictines of Viboldone, with the Latin original, Milan, 1970.

This chapter will examine the life-long association of Girolamo Romanino with houses of the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua as an example of an ultimately unsuccessful attempt at fashioning a recognisable visual identity for a religious Congregation. He worked for the Congregation intermittently from 1513 to 1560, on ten commissions for eight different houses. Of the ten commissions, two were for fresco cycles and eight altarpieces: ²

**Table 2 Romanino's Works for the Congregation of
Santa Giustina of Padua**

Date	Subject	Name of Church	Location
1513	<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints</i>	Santa Giustina, Old Choir	Padua
1513	<i>Last Supper</i>	Santa Giustina, Refectory	Padua
1522	<i>Mass of St. Apollonius</i>	Santa Maria in Calchera	Brescia
1526	<i>Resurrection of Christ</i>	SS. Gervasio e Protasio	Capriolo, Brescia
1526-30	<i>Life of Sant'Obizio, fresco cycle</i>	San Salvatore	Brescia
1535	<i>Deposition (destroyed in WWII)</i>	SS. Faustino e Giovita	Brescia
1541	<i>Life of the Virgin, fresco cycle</i>	Santa Maria Annunziata	Biunno, Val Camonica
1544-45	<i>Processional Standard with Resurrection of Christ (obverse) and Mass of St. Apollonius</i>	SS. Faustino e Giovita	Brescia
1547-48?	<i>Mass of St. Apollonius</i>	unknown	Brescia ⁷
1558	<i>Calling of St. Peter</i>	San Pietro	Modena
1560	<i>Baptism of Christ and other scenes, fresco cycle</i>	Sant'Eufemia, Library	Brescia

⁷ For a study of the individual works: Nova (1994a).

Of the eight altarpieces, only one was commissioned for a High Altar. The majority of these works were executed in the early part of Romanino's career, as his idiosyncrasies made him less and less suitable as a choice for the Benedictines as time went on. Whereas in the early part of his career he had been called up for commissions on several occasions, these trailed off during his most eccentric phase, especially the 1530s. If he was employed at all, he was given a less prestigious side altar to decorate instead of the prominent High Altar.

The nature of his relationship with the Benedictines permits an insight into the concerns of his patrons with style, decorum, and the interpretation of subject matter. This chapter will consider how the Congregation of Santa Giustina employed Romanino, and the works he executed for them will be discussed with reference to the spiritual preoccupations of the Benedictines.

If one takes the works together, the group includes an unusual choice of subjects, and, in the case of one of the fresco cycles, an unusual choice of style. An examination of this group allows the consideration of the balance between the celebration of the spiritual needs of the religious order, and the commemoration of themes of local importance. A comparison of the images within the framework of a Congregation moreover makes it possible to separate the concerns of the Congregation as a whole from the local preoccupation with specific themes and types of subject matter. An extended investigation into the Brescian peculiarities of the imagery is possible because of the widespread dissemination of the Congregation across Italy, which allows for points of reference in other towns

The Congregation played a major part in reform movements of the fifteenth-century, and continued to help shape religious identity in the towns of the Veneto

throughout the sixteenth-century.³ The foundation of the Observant Benedictine Congregation of Santa Giustina in Padua was intimately associated with Ludovico Barbo who reluctantly became the Prior of Santa Giustina of Padua in 1408.⁴ Barbo had initially been allied with the Venetian Congregation of the Augustinian Canons of San Giorgio in Alga (see chapter Three), whose reforms of lax monastic discipline centred on a revival of scholarly studies, spiritual retreat and meditation.⁵ Barbo's reforms of Santa Giustina centred on the same principles practised by the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga: reorganisation of monastic government and the restoration of monastic piety and learning in accordance with the original rule of St. Benedict.⁶

In 1409, Barbo was appointed to the Priorate of Santa Giustina of Padua by Pope Gregory XII (the Venetian Angelo Correr). With this particular monastery, he entered a house that had suffered a severe decline in its discipline and its observance of the Benedictine Rule in the course of the fourteenth-century. The zealous reforms instituted in 1409 by Barbo met with initial resentment.⁷ Trolese summarises the impact of Barbo's reforms on the discipline within Santa Giustina as 'suo nuovo stile di vita religiosa [era] caratterizzato da un intenso ritorno all'osservanza letterale della Regola, da una profonda vita di preghiera, e da un riscoperto amore alla solitudine, per avendo la sua sede in ambienti vicini alla città'.⁸

³ The most comprehensive study on the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua in English is Collett, B., Italian Benedictine Scholars and the Reformation, Oxford, 1985.

⁴ Pratesi (1964): 244-249; Tramontin (1984): 102; Trolese (1985): 628ff.

⁵ This will be discussed in chapter 3; also, Cracco (1959): 70-88.

⁶ For a brief discussion of the history of the Rule of St. Benedict, see Richards (1980): chap. 15, for a complete new edition of the rule, see Priocco (1995).

⁷ Collett (1985): 2.

⁸ Trolese (1985): 627.

Barbo's reforms proved successful, though: within two years of his appointment, the Benedictines of San Fortunato di Bassano in Vicenza had allied themselves to Santa Giustina, and in 1413, two more Benedictine houses, Santa Maria dell'Arcarotta in Verona, and San Giacomo del Grigliano, in Genoa, joined the Paduan house.⁹

On 1 January 1419, the Congregation of Santa Giustina was granted its constitution, *Ineffabilis summi providentia Patris*, by Pope Martin V, and under the protection of Popes Gregory XII, Martin V and Eugenius IV respectively, the Congregation of Santa Giustina grew from its modest beginnings in the Veneto to take in houses from all over Italy. Throughout the fifteenth-century the number of houses joining the Congregation grew steadily, even embracing the motherhouse of the Benedictine Order at Montecassino in 1504. Following the admission of this latter house into the Congregation, the Congregation also became known as the Cassinese Congregation. The Congregation of Santa Giustina was at its most numerous in 1521, when it included

forty-five larger monasteries in thirty-seven towns, with three nunneries (at Tarascona, Brescia, Milan) and another 145 small branch houses, chapels, etc. There were probably 2,000-2,500 monks, since there were approximately fifty-five professions per year with a life span of forty or fifty years after profession.¹⁰

⁹ By 1415, Barbo had also been offered San Niccolo del Boschetto in Genoa, and by 1420, further houses in Pavia (SS. Spirito e Gallo), Milan (San Dionigi), Alessandria (S. Maria di Tortona) and Florence (S. Maria di Badia) had become part of the Congregation. Trolese (1985): 643.

¹⁰ Collett (1985): 9, n.21. Also, Pelliccia and Rocca, Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione, Rome, 1974, I, 1314-1316.

This made the Cassinese Congregation one of the largest monastic groups at the time. The Congregation had thus succeeded in establishing an extensive presence in the major towns of Northern Italy.

Significantly, this expansion in numbers led to the development of legislation within the order concerning church architecture.¹¹ While there is, to my knowledge, no similar legislation which regulated the subject matter and style of the pictorial decoration of churches, the presence of rules governing architectural projects does show the Congregation to have been a group of patrons concerned with the promotion of a 'corporate identity'. It might be conjectured that the mathematical principles of architecture lend themselves to duplication, whereas the size of the Congregation precluded the establishment of a unified visual identity. The sheer number of commissions for the various houses effectively ruled out this possibility. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the much smaller Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga could attempt the successful introduction of a recognisable style, as the number of its commissions was more manageable.

The choice of subjects for altarpieces for the Cassinese Congregation were either of particular local importance for the house or they reflected the teaching of the Congregation. Both types of imagery emphasised a tradition of religious presence and of a spiritual system of belief sanctioned by history (and the Pope).¹² This was in keeping with the strong tradition of scholarship within the houses of Santa Giustina.

¹¹ After 1490, strict legislation covered the erection of new buildings: a plan drawing and a model of the building had to be approved by officials of the Congregation. Winkelmes (1995): 11 ff.

¹² From 1431 to 1546, the Congregation enjoyed unconditional Papal approval. The Congregation met with a major setback in 1546 at the Council of Trent when its suggestions on Justification compiled by the three representatives of the Congregation, Luciano degli Ottoni,

Emphasis on the translation of spiritual precepts into visual statements may explain the frequency with which the Congregation employed the same artists: once an artist had succeeded in meeting the demands of the Benedictines for imagery of a specified content, then the artist was a safe choice for further commissions. One of the best known examples of fealty of the Congregation towards one artist is that of Correggio, whose association with Santa Giustina has most recently been studied by David Ekserdjan and John Shearman.¹³ Other artists who were repeatedly employed by the Congregation included Mantegna, Mauro Codussi and Battista Zelotti.¹⁴ A further example of long-standing loyalty of the Congregation of Santa Giustina towards an artist was the case of the Bergamasque architect Andrea Moroni.¹⁵

The repeated employment of favourite artists was not exclusive to the Benedictines, though: one well-known example is the longstanding association of Lorenzo Lotto with the Dominican Order, an order who on several occasions also employed Gian Gerolamo Savoldo.¹⁶ The long association of Moretto with the Augustinian Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga will also be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

In all of these cases, the artist had forged a distinctive style which had become as much associated with the order as with him. The ability of artists to alter styles in accordance with requirements has been recognised by scholars. At the same time, it is also necessary to acknowledge the importance of a style which

Isidoro Chiari and Crisostomo Calvinini were rejected. Collett (1985): 186 ff; Jedin (1961): see the chapter on Justification.

¹³ Ekserdjan (1997): 95-121; Shearman (1980): 281-94. See also Winkelmes (1995): 18. On Zelotti, Gisolfi and Sinding- Larsen (1998): 2-3.

¹⁴ On Zelotti, Gisolfi and Sinding- Larsen (1998): 2-3.

¹⁵ Nova (1994a): 266.

¹⁶ Humfrey (1997): 27 ff.

can be easily imitated and copied. Religious orders intent upon projecting a unified visual image in their churches had to control two aspects of their commissions. Firstly, visual unity could be attained by co-ordinating the subject-matter of the altarpieces commissioned. And secondly, the style of the imagery could be controlled to achieve visual unity in this way (in some cases, frames for altarpieces were pre-designed to the same drawing to enhance visual unity). Both of these concerns have been identified in predominantly Counter-Reformation commissions.¹⁷ If Romanino's works for the Cassinese Congregation are considered according to these criteria, he falls short of fulfilling the first criteria because of the wide range of subject-matter executed for the Benedictines. And similarly, with regard to style, the appearance of Romanino's works differed markedly from commission to commission. In addition, his idiosyncratic style was difficult to imitate. Instead, his contributions remained individualistic. This does raise the question of the respective value of individuality. What was more important for a religious Congregation? An immediately recognisable visually unified style, or strikingly different contributions?

The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua settled in Brescia in 1457, and in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it acquired a number of additional religious houses in the town. By 1457, the Congregation was already one of the largest groups within the Benedictine order. The nuns of Sant'Eufemia in Brescia were the thirty-fifth house to join the Congregation of Santa Giustina, which was rapidly increasing the number of its houses throughout the fifteenth-century. Sant'Eufemia remained the only Brescian house of the Congregation until

¹⁷ Humfrey (1990): 192; Humfrey (1996): 371-387.

1491, when SS. Faustino e Giovita also joined.¹⁸ The number of Brescian houses further increased in the course of the sixteenth-century, at which time the Congregation had grown to be one of the strongest religious groups in Northern Italy. One of the houses to join the Cassinese Congregation in the sixteenth-century was the nunnery of San Salvatore, one of the oldest and most aristocratic religious foundations in Brescia, and one of only three female houses within the Cassinese Congregation by 1521.¹⁹

The choice of this particular house for the Congregation serves to establish the importance of tradition for the Congregation. The monastic complex of San Salvatore, which also comprises the church of Santa Giulia and the Oratory of Santa Maria in Solario, was founded in 753 by the Longobard Queen Ansa, the wife of King Desiderius, and remained for centuries the focus of religious, artistic and political life of Brescia.²⁰ Throughout this period, the nuns of San Salvatore came from the most eminent families of Brescia, and in the 1520's, when Romanino was working for the Congregation in Brescia, the Abbess of San Salvatore was Adeodata Martinengo, a member of one of the most powerful patrician families of Brescia. The Martinengo were also amongst Romanino's most loyal employers.

Romanino first came into contact with the Canons in Padua in 1513. It is not known how Romanino came to enter the service of the Paduan Benedictines, but the works he executed in Padua were to establish a working relationship with the Benedictines that lasted throughout his life. Romanino's reasons for a presence

¹⁸ Trolese (1985): 644.

¹⁹ Collett (1985): 9, n.21.

²⁰ Lombardia, Guida d'Italia, Touring Club Italiano, Milan, 1987, pp. 569-70. The monastic complex of San Salvatore today houses the Brescian Museo della Città.

in Padua in 1513 are clear: following the disastrous sack of Brescia in February 1512, and the ensuing period of political unrest, famine, disease and despair, there were no artistic commissions available in his home town. He worked briefly for members of the exiled Brescian government at Tavernola Bergamasca, but there was little scope for continued employment.²¹ The situation in Padua was different, though, and amongst the artists attracted to the town was also the young Titian. Titian's series of three frescoes for the *Sala Capitolare* of the Scuola di Sant'Antonio which were executed between 1510-11 are testimony to this sojourn.²²

Ballarin suggests that Romanino was active in Padua from December 1512 to 1516, that is, throughout the period of the Spanish occupation of Brescia.²³ The scholar also hypothesised that Romanino might have visited Venice in these years, too: 'sia stata dettata da circostanze esterne alla sua volontà, cioè abbia avuto il carattere di un esilio, e che la svolta in senso veneziano segnata dalla pala di Santa Giustina rispetto all'affresco di Tavernola sia avvenuta contraggenio'.²⁴ Both observations raise a number of issues concerning the chronology of Romanino's earliest works, but the consensus of the majority agrees with Ballarin's outline of Romanino's development. While the artist seems to have

²¹ At Tavernola Bergamasca, Romanino worked in the Pieve di San Pietro, where he executed a fresco of the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Sts. George and a martyr, and Sts. Peter and Paul presenting donors (1512). Nicodemi (1925): 21; Bassi-Rathgeb (1953): 10; Ballarin (1970-71): 16-26; Nova (1994a): 216-217.

²² The three frescoes are the Miracle of the Speaking Infant, Miracle of the Jealous Husband, Saint Anthony Reattaching the Foot of the Irascible Son.

²³ Ballarin (1970-71): 42

²⁴ Ballarin (1970-71): 61.

returned to Brescia on at least one occasion, in 1513, no Brescian works from this period are documented.²⁵

On 30 April 1513, Romanino signed a contract for a variety of works for the motherhouse of the Congregation, in Padua.²⁶ The contract was signed on behalf of the community of the Canons by Brother Andrea, 'havendo deliberato li padri del monasterio di Santa Justina'.²⁷ The contract covered the high altarpiece of the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints (fig.21), a further painting for the refectory depicting the Last Supper (fig.22), and two organ shutters. Unfortunately these latter have been lost, and nothing further is known about their subject matter.²⁸ Romanino was to receive 120 ducats in payment, a third of which was to be paid to him in June 1513.

For the high altarpiece (fig.21), the contract specifies the execution of a tondo with the 'Dead Christ' surmounting the frame, and two *tondi* with Sts. Luke and Matthew for the upper corners of the elaborate frame of the altarpiece. Further instructions also asked for the inclusion of a *tondo* with three martyred children, and for the main *pala*, the inclusion of Sts. Giustina and Prosdocimo. By 8 July 1514, the altarpiece was installed, and received 'populi magno cum applausu'.²⁹

²⁵ Most scholars agree that the frescoes for San Pietro, Tavernola Bergamasca, precede Romanino's sojourn in Padua, and thus date to early 1512. For a summary, see Nova (1994a): 216-18.

²⁶ Archivio Civico di Padova, Museo Civico Libro FA., Fabbrica di SANTA Giustina, vol. I, p. 19.

²⁷ Nova (1994a): 219.

²⁸ Nova (1994a): 217 refers to the organ shutters; Luisa Attardi mentions the commission in Ballarin and Banzato (1991): 117.

²⁹ The document referring to the installation of the altarpiece was discovered by Billanovich, and has been quoted by Nova.

A.S.P., Corporazioni sopresse, Santa Giustina, vol. VIII, f.831:

Die Sabbati octava mensis Julii MDXIII. In monasterio S. Justinac D. Joanne de Venetiis abbatē ac nostrae Cassinensis Congregationis Praesidente meritissimo, Icona maioris arae erecta fuit.

Romanino's Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints is justifiably considered as one of his most magnificent works. The monumental Virgin is seated on a throne that raises her above the Benedictine saints assembled at the foot of her seat. Two angels are in the process of crowning her as the Queen of Heaven; the angel on the right flirtatiously, and in a sensuous manner, displaying his leg. The Christ Child is splayed across the Virgin's lap, in a position which recalls the bleeding figure of one of the murdered Innocents in the central *tondo* of the frame below. This is a poignant reminder of Christ's future as the sacrifice for the sins of mankind, as well as of his escape from the senseless slaughter of the Innocents. Four Benedictine saints are assembled at the foot of the throne, each carrying his or her attributes. In the centre of the foreground an angel plays the tambourine. The scene is set in a spectacular, tunnel-vaulted space that evokes a Roman triumphal arch. The painted coffered vault continues the spatial illusion set up by the magnificent wooden frame.

The inclusion of Saints Benedict and Giustina, the founder of the Benedictine Order along with the titular saint of the church, to the left of the throne of the Virgin, *in cornu evangelii*, is not surprising. Yet, the inclusion of St. Prosdocimo to the right of the throne is a more unusual choice of saint. This is explained by archaeological finds in the subsoil of the cathedral which included, amongst other finds, the bodies of Sts. Giustina, Prosdocimo, Felicita da Padova, and even the remains of St. Matthew the Apostle, and St. Luke the Evangelist. The high altarpiece of Santa Giustina makes references to all of the above saints. Similarly, the contract specifies that *tondi* are included of San Massimo, San

populi magno cum applausu'. Nova (1994a): 217-221. For further discussions of the altarpiece, see: Ferrari (1961): plates 5-9; Panazza (1965a): 37-40; Ballarin and Banzato (1991): 113-119.

Giuliano di Padova, and the three martyred children depicted in the central *tondo* at the base of the frame. This choice of saints relates directly to the discovery, on 2 August 1052, of the bodies of three martyred children together with the remains of SS. Massimo and Giuliano. According to Paduan tradition, it was San Giuliano who had transported the bodies of three of the children massacred by King Herod to Padua.³⁰ Romanino's altarpiece thus contains local references to the most popular cults of saints which were of importance for this church. The same concern with themes of local importance will also become apparent in the commissions Romanino executed for the Benedictines in Brescia. At the same time, the subject matter of the altarpiece demonstrates the traditional attitudes towards imagery of the Benedictines: the iconography of the saints reflects an earlier altarpiece by Mantegna for the chapel of St. Luke in the same church.³¹ The decision to include saints of particular local importance in the more prominent location of the high altarpiece represents a 'promotion' of the cult of these saints from a side chapel to the high altar. This move was in keeping with the concern of the Congregation of Santa Giustina for visual prominence of the altarpieces, and with the content of the altarpieces in their churches.³²

Romanino's High Altarpiece has been interpreted in the past as one of his most 'Venetian' works. Crowe and Cavallcaselle, in their discussion of the image, focus on the most Venetian features of the work, that is, the modelling and the colour, when they write that 'ample drapery covers form with due attention to line and projection of the underparts. Massive lights balanced by spacious darks, a fine

³⁰ Brandolese (1791): 91-92; Cittadella (1606): column 63, Ballarin and Banzato (1991): 117, Nova (1994): 220.

³¹ Mantegna's St. Luke Polyptych (1453-55) is now in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan. Lightbown identifies the two saints to the right in the upper register as SS. Massimo and Giuliano da Padova. Lightbown (1986): 427.

use of projected shadow, golden brown flesh of unbroken glowing surface, and luscious vestment tints enhance the general beauty of the whole'.³³ The Venetian appearance of the altarpiece has led to much speculation on the nature of the relation between Romanino and Titian, whose frescos for the Scuola del Santo in Padua must have been familiar to Romanino.³⁴ At the same time, however, the spatial construction of the altarpiece, in particular the way in which the fictional space of the altarpiece reflects the architecture of the frame, recalls Lombard artists such as Bramantino, and thus stands between the Venetian and the Lombard pictorial tradition. It is certainly one of Romanino's most memorable early works.

One aspect of the iconography of the altarpiece deserves further consideration: the inclusion of books. Two of the figures in the image display texts. The Virgin balances an open book on her left knee, and St. Scholastica has just turned the pages in the volume she holds in her hand. Books, and the scriptural tradition were of prime importance to the Congregation, and the viewer is reminded of the rich textual tradition of this famously erudite Congregation. Romanino's reference to the books in the Paduan altarpiece highlights the concern of the Benedictines with learning, and even recalls their library. In addition, Romanino himself has signed the altarpiece at the base of the throne, inscribing himself into the narrative of the picture. Certainly in 1513, Romanino met the demands of the Congregation with success, and translated their textual vision of the attainment of salvation through prayer and the study of the scriptures into an

³² Winkelman (1995): 30-36.

³³ Crowe and Cavalcasselle (1912): 264-265.

³⁴ Titian worked in the Sala Capitolare of the Scuola del Sant'Antonio in Padua between 1510-11. For a discussion of the influence of Titian on Romanino, see Longhi, (1917): 102-104, Ballarin (1970-71): 40-61, Ballarin (1985).

image of beauty with clarity of content. The success of this vision of the Benedictine message of salvation was affirmed by its continuous residence on the High Altar of Santa Giustina until its removal to the Museo Civico in 1866.

Salvation was the most important topic of concern to the Congregation in the sixteenth-century. Collett summarised the stance of the Congregation by explaining that

the teachings of the monks of Santa Giustina were quite distinct and different from those of others. Long before the Reformation, the monks taught a pattern of salvation of the 'restoration' type expressed in Pauline terms of sin, the Cross, grace, and faith, mainly using the exegeses of Augustine and Chrysostom: the kind of restoration they taught was not that of guilty and unjust man restored to a state of justice, but rather that of human nature now broken by mortality and suffering both in body and mind restored to health.³⁵

The spiritual preoccupations of the Congregation at the time of its foundation were therefore with reform and a service devoted to God, and the same spiritual preoccupations marked the reaction of the Order to the challenge of the Reformation.³⁶ It has also been argued by Cracco, Trolese and Collett that an instrumental influence on the shaping of religious identity within the Congregation at the beginning of the sixteenth-century was the movement of the Congregation of the Brethren of the Common Life at Windesheim.³⁷ The spirituality of the Brethren of Windesheim, with their emphasis on 'ascent through aesthetic withdrawal' is best exemplified in the writings of Thomas à Kempis, whose

³⁵ Collett (1985): 26.

³⁶ Hay (1977): 35.

³⁷ Cracco (1959): 76; Collett (1985): 16; Trolese (1984): 640 ff.

Imitation of Christ was one of the most popular and commonly read books in sixteenth-century Italy.³⁸ Inventories of libraries of the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua list copies of Thomas à Kempis's work; the term '*imitatio christi*' also points to the concern within the Congregation of attempts at following Christ's example in an effort to attain salvation.³⁹ The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua moreover displayed, from its very beginnings, a preoccupation with a stricter observance of the original rule and with scholarship, as well as the introduction of a new administrative structure.⁴⁰ The concerns of the Congregation with a reform of the morals and the structures of church and society, which was to be accomplished by a reform 'in head and members', led to demands that both the clergy as well as the worshippers had to be better educated and taught.⁴¹ Emphasis on scholarship and patristic studies within the Congregation, appealed to highly educated and erudite monks, who entered the order of the Benedictines in order to continue their studies. Although some of the scholarship of the Congregation of Santa Giustina was restricted to the cloister, the Benedictines were also prolific at producing devotional tracts and expositions of patristic writings for the use of the laity.⁴² One additional way in which the Congregation communicated its spiritual convictions and teachings to laymen and laywomen attending services was through the pictorial decoration of its churches. This brings the discussion once more to Romanino.

The preoccupation of the Congregation with the topic of salvation even prior to the onset of the Reformation goes far in explaining why the majority of

³⁸ Collett (1985): 16.

³⁹ Gisolfi and Sinding-Larsen (1998): 75, n.10.

⁴⁰ Hay (1977): 77-78. See also, Wildloecher (1929): 74, n.1; Trolese (1985): 629-30.

⁴¹ For example, McGrath (1988); Southern, (1970).

⁴² For a summary on the nature of the scholarship of the Congregation see Collett (1985): 28-54.

images commissioned of Romanino for houses of the Congregation in Brescia were of a christo-centric nature. Eight years passed between the commission for Santa Giustina in Padua and Romanino's next contact with the Congregation, this time for Santa Maria in Calchera. Santa Maria in Calchera was under the jurisdiction of Sant'Eufemia which had been the first Brescian house to join the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua in 1457. The reasons for this long deferment between commissions can be explained through Romanino's prolonged engagement on large scale projects in Cremona in the second decade of the sixteenth-century. The occupation of Brescia continued until 1516, and few commissions were given during this period. Romanino still sought employment elsewhere. After his return to Brescia in 1517, to execute the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Francis of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, Bonaventura and Louis of Toulouse with two Franciscan Brothers (fig.4) for San Francesco, he was also intermittently engaged in Bovezzo, Salò and Cremona.⁴³ This latter sojourn might explain the timing of Romanino's next commission for a house of the Cassinese Congregation.

Romanino painted the Mass of St. Apollonius (fig.23) for Santa Maria in Calchera in 1521-22. There is some uncertainty about the date of the commission; a document from 2 May 1519 drawn up between the monks of Sant'Eufemia and the heirs of a member of the Feroldi family stipulates that 25 ducats were to be expended '*pro faciendo unam Anconam*' for the church of Santa Maria in Calchera, but the actual altarpiece has been dated on stylistic grounds to 1521-22.⁴⁴ The contract between the family and the monks states the obligation of the

⁴³ Nova (1994a): 223-224; 229; 233-235.

⁴⁴ Nova (1994a): 240; Sabatti (1984): 11.

Feroldi heirs to provide for an altarpiece, yet the subject is left unspecified. The choice of subject-matter was instead determined through the location of the altar in the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament. 1519, when the contract was drawn up, was an exceptionally busy year for Romanino, who was also engaged with the decoration of the apse of Cremona Cathedral. Romanino had been commissioned to contribute the scenes of Christ before Caiaphas and The Flagellation (fig.24) to the cycle of Christ's Passion.⁴⁵ The original scenes Romanino was commissioned to do were finished in 1519, and on 31 August the *massari* of Cremona Cathedral extended Romanino's contract to a further two scenes. When this contract was declared invalid by a set of newly elected officials, and the commission went instead to Pordenone, Romanino became available for work in Brescia again. It is possible that the Feroldi approached the painter on his return to Brescia, which explains the delay between the original contract drawn up between the family and the Congregation, and the dating of the finished altarpiece.

The Mass of St. Apollonius was commissioned for the altar of the Holy Sacrament, the second altar on the right of the church. This altarpiece, which he executed 1521-22, was the first of several works which celebrated local Brescian saints, and, at the same time, celebrated the sacrament of the Eucharist.⁴⁶

The latter topic was of particular importance to Santa Maria in Calchera: Bernardino da Feltre, on a visit to Brescia in 1494, was enraged at the lack of respect for the sacrament of the Eucharist displayed by a Prior of Santa Maria in Calchera. Bernardino met the Prior dispensing the sacrament without due ceremony, and without an escort (fig.25). Following this encounter, the enraged

⁴⁵ Further scenes executed by Romanino are The Crowning with Thorns and Ecce Homo Nova (1994a): 233-235; Voltini (1989):33; Nicodemi (1925): 83-89.

preacher launched into a series of sermons which led to the foundation of the first Brescian Scuola del Sacramento in September 1494.⁴⁷ The second incident that emphasised the particular importance of the Eucharist to Santa Maria in Calchera was the murder of a priest in the church during the 1512 Sack of Brescia, in the middle of celebrating mass. This brutal desecration of the sanctuary of the church, and violation of the holiness of mass, called for special amends within the church. In Romanino's altarpiece, the theme of the Eucharist is celebrated in the depiction of the mythical mass of Saint Apollonius, an early Christian bishop of Brescia. According to the Legenda de sancto Faustino e Jovita, St. Apollonius found himself one night without the necessary liturgical objects to celebrate mass, but after a fervent prayer, he was miraculously supplied with a host, chalice, a linen cloth and four candles. Furthermore, Sts. Faustino and Giovita were freed from their imprisonment, and joined St. Apollonius for the celebration of mass, equipped with a censer and a chalice.⁴⁸ The moral of the story was the need for designated liturgical equipment to make the celebration of mass valid.⁴⁹ A second prominent theme in the image is the celebration of divine intervention, a theme of pertinence for the legend of Faustino and Giovita whose supposed miraculous appearance during the siege of 1438 prevented the defeat of the Brescians at the hands of the Milanese.⁵⁰

In Romanino's depiction of the mythical mass, St. Apollonius is represented as celebrating in front of an altar, assisted by Sts. Faustino and Giovita as his

⁴⁶ Nova (1994a): 240-241; Ferrari (1961): plates 42-43; Panazza (1965a): 67-68.

⁴⁷ Guazzoni (1981): 22; Nova (1994a): 241.

⁴⁸ Legenda de sancto Faustino e Jovita, Brescia, 1490, p.37; Guazzoni (1981): 13-17; Guazzoni (1986): 24.

⁴⁹ Gardner (1994): 1-19.

⁵⁰ See discussion in chapter 1; on the theme of divine intervention in the Stamza d'Eliodoro, Partridge (1996): 148-152.

acolytes, who are here represented as wearing liturgical garb instead of armour (figs.9;10).⁵¹ The four kneeling worshippers in front of the altar occupy the traditional space allocated to donor portraits, and have thus been identified as the Feroldi heirs who commissioned the altarpiece.⁵² The celebration of the Mass of St. Apollonius takes place in front of a painted altarpiece which recalls prototypes from North of the Alps, depicting a mournful Lamentation of the Dead Christ. Romanino's composition of a seated, youthful Virgin Mary with the body of her dead son in her lap recalls the motif of a *Pietà*.⁵³ This group is surrounded by St. John the Evangelist on the left, and Mary Magdalene at the feet of the dead Christ. A third female figure stands behind the grieving Virgin.

Romanino's depiction of the Mass of St. Apollonius is exceptionally precise in its reference to the celebration of mass. It is possible to reconstruct from the gestures of the celebrant and the communicants the exact moment in the liturgy. Three of the figures, including the celebrant, are beating their chest with their right hand. This gesture occurs only once in the celebration of (Catholic) mass, where it accompanies the Confiteor Dei, or confessional prayer just prior to the Transubstantiation. At this moment also, with the exception of the celebrant and acolytes, the Congregation kneel. The Congregation proclaim at this point their responsibility for Christ's sacrifice, and confess that because of their sins Christ had to die. The result of the sinfulness of mankind is depicted by Romanino in the background of the Mass of St. Apollonius. After the confession follows the consecration. St. Apollonius is preparing himself for the moment of

⁵¹ On the imagery of Sts. Faustino and Giovita, see Guazzoni (1981): 12-18.

⁵² Nova (1994a): 240-241.

⁵³ There is no documentary evidence of a trip of Romanino's to Rome, but as there are no records for Romanino between 1514 and 1516, a trip to Rome would have been possible.

Transubstantiation, of bread as well as of wine, at which point Christ's sacrifice is re-enacted in his commemoration in a contemporary Brescian church. Christ will be present in the midst of the Congregation. In preparation for this event, the onlooker is asked to reflect on his/her sins in the same way as is demonstrated by the figures in the altarpiece.

Romanino's precision goes beyond the depiction of the actual moment of mass; he also depicts designated liturgical equipment, and emphasises the chalice as well as the paten. This mass is not a commemorative service, but a re-enactment of Christ's sacrifice. The background to his representation is of course the controversy surrounding Martin Luther in Germany. The broadening conflict between Luther and the Papacy had led to his excommunication in January 1521, and in the same year, on 25 December, Karlstadt celebrated an evangelical Eucharist in place of the mass in Wittenberg Cathedral.⁵⁴ Romanino's altarpiece emphasises the Catholic nature of the mass celebrated in Santa Maria in Calchera.

The interpretation of this image allows on the one hand for an insight into the spiritual concerns of the Congregation with salvation, and on the other hand, Romanino's altarpiece demonstrates a concern within the Congregation with topics of local importance. This two-fold purpose is reflected in the division of the image into two sections, being constituted as it is of the Pietà behind the altar, and the celebration of the mythical mass in the foreground of the scene. Within the image, the actual event of the sacrifice, and the re-enactment of Christ's death in a mythical mass celebrated by Brescia's patron saints is witnessed by a group of contemporary worshippers. The complexity of the temporal dimensions of this

Romanino's familiarity with Michelangelo's *Pietà* could have been due to prints. Landau and Parshall (1994); Bayer (1998): 221.

altarpiece served as a reminder to the parishioners of Santa Maria in Calchera that they, too, could re-enact the sacrifice of Christ. For them, Christ's presence could become a real one, and the validity of Christ's sacrifice is as relevant to them, as it was to the Early Christian saints of Brescia. The reference to the troubled early years of Christianity serves also as reminder that in times of dissent, Brescians had stood firm, and had not wavered in their faith. The most poignant memorial of this holy Brescian past was the well of martyrs of San Salvatore, like Santa Maria in Calchera a church under the jurisdiction of the Cassinese Congregation. The visuals of the altarpiece thus respond, through a reference to a particularly Brescian subject, to the requirement of celebrating the dedication of the altar to the sacrament of the Eucharist.

The unusual and rarely depicted subject of the Mass of St. Apollonius is specific to Brescian painting, and especially to Romanino's output, who executed a second version of the Mass of St. Apollonius in 1544 for the reverse of a processional banner for the church of SS. Faustino e Giovita (fig. 26). This church, dedicated to the patron saints of Brescia, also belonged to the Congregation.⁵⁴ Romanino's 1540's version of the Mass of St. Apollonius differs markedly from the first version in important details: while the centre of the image is still occupied by St. Apollonius, once again dressed in liturgical vestments and in the process of celebrating mass, the kneeling worshippers of the earlier version have been omitted. Sts. Faustino and Giovita, instead of serving as acolytes, now kneel in the foreground. Furthermore, they have exchanged their liturgical garb with heavy plate armour. All three saints gaze at the vision of a tabernacle

⁵⁴ For a brief survey of events, Greengrass (1998): 46-58.

⁵⁵ Nova (1994a): 321-323; Panazza (1965a): 103-104.

enclosing the consecrated host in a glory of light above their heads. The tabernacle is supported by two censer-swinging angels, and the species of the Eucharist has truly become *panem angelorum*.

Instead of celebrating mass, the saints are here participating in the devotion of the *Quarant'Ore*. The prominent display of the consecrated species of the Eucharist above the altar recalls the growing popularity of the devotional practice of the *Quarant'Ore*, or Forty-Hours devotion, which was introduced into Brescia in 1536.⁵⁶ The devotion of the *Quarant'Ore* will be discussed in more detail in chapter Five.

Romanino's depiction of the practice recalls what the Congregation would have seen, the open tabernacle with the consecrated host. Yet, in the same way as in his rendition of the Mass of St. Apollonius (fig.23) in Santa Maria in Calchera, the Congregation are invited to follow the example of their patron saints, Sts. Apollonius, Faustino and Giovita, in the worship of God. The picture establishes an example of conduct for the Congregation to imitate. This reading of the reverse of the banner is supported by the representation of the Resurrection of Christ (fig.28) on the obverse. This version of the Resurrection of Christ recalled his previous rendition of the subject, executed for Capriolo 20 years previously (fig.29). The Resurrection of Christ accentuates the physical reality of Christ, resurrected in the flesh. The same flesh is enshrined in the tabernacle on the other side of the banner. In this context, it is important to remember that processional banners were viewed differently from altarpieces. An altarpiece is a fixture within a church, which is rarely moved, whereas a processional banner is paraded through the streets in festive processions. The onlooker in a procession will watch

the progress of the train filing past, and as the banner flutters in the wind, both the obverse, and the reverse are visible in turn. As the two sides become interchangeable in the process of viewing, the resurrected body of Christ, and the host in the tabernacle become one and the same in the mind of the viewer.

On normal days, the banner was placed in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament, to the right of an altarpiece of the Deposition, executed also by Romanino.⁵⁷ The subjects of the Deposition, the Resurrection of Christ and the Mass of St. Apollonius combine the themes of salvation and the patriotic celebration of the patron saints of Brescia. Once again, this is typical of commissions by the Congregation of Santa Giustina for its Brescian houses.

The third version of the Mass of St. Apollonius (fig. 27) executed by Romanino is a problematic little panel in a private collection in Florence only known from photographs. The provenance, and indeed, the subject of the panel, are uncertain.⁵⁸ The precision of the depiction of the liturgy is noteworthy, though, as in this small panel Romanino depicts the communicating laity.

Romanino's next commission for a church of the Congregation continued the exploration of the subject of Christ's salvation of man: in 1526, he executed the altarpiece of the Resurrection of Christ (fig.29) for the parish church of SS. Gervasio e Protasio in Capriolo, a benefice which was held by the nephew of the Brescian apostolic protonotary Altobello Averoldi.⁵⁹ The church of SS. Gervasio e Protasio in Capriolo was directly dependent on San Salvatore in Brescia, and

⁵⁶ Weil (1974): 218-223; De Santi (1919) for the early history of the Forty Hours devotion.

⁵⁷ Nova (1994a): 321-323 for the processional banner, and 266-267 for the Deposition. Romanino's Deposition was destroyed in Berlin in 1945. Ferrari (1961): plates 73-74.

⁵⁸ Nova (1994a): 337.

⁵⁹ Averoldi was the patron of Titian's celebrated Resurrection triptych which had been installed in the Brescian church of SS. Nazaro e Celso in 1522. Humfrey (1993): 74, 310-11. On Titian's polyptych, Tassi (1976). On Averoldi, Gatta (1962): 667-668.

thus belonged to the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua.⁶⁰ Romanino's Resurrection of Christ was closely modelled on the prototype provided by Titian's Risen Christ in the Resurrection Polyptych for SS. Nazaro e Celso in Brescia (fig.30). While Titian emphasises the divine nature of Christ, Romanino places greater emphasis on the depiction of the human nature and corporeality of the body of Christ. In the Capriolo altarpiece, Christ is shown against the dawning sky of the background, and, with His right hand raised in the gesture of blessing, He is shown ascending and as freeing Himself from the restraints of His human nature. With its emphatic confirmation of the central act of Christ for the attainment of human salvation, Romanino's altarpiece can be interpreted as a comment on, and an illustration of the basics of the teaching of the Congregation of Santa Giustina on salvation. Collett quotes the 1499 rule of the Benedictine Congregation, which declared that

we do not know nor are we able to conceive the slightest thing of good. Therefore it is necessary that God Himself illuminate the eyes of our mind, clouded by many sins. The most high God, through his infinite and ineffable goodness has been pleased always to pour his sweetest blessings upon the sons of men, to whom he gave the power to become sons of himself, to those who believe in his name: but note well that if God gives power to men to become his sons, nevertheless he gives it only to those who believe in his name.⁶¹

The point that is most authoritatively stated in this excerpt concerns the importance of faith, and of trust in God. Man can take a decision regarding his

⁶⁰ On SS. Nazaro e Celso: Volta, Begni Redona, Prestini, Sambonet and Giannelli Buss (1992) 90-100.

possibility for salvation, but the decision he needs to take first of all is the decision to believe, and to rest his faith in God. The topicality of the question of how to attain salvation in the third decade of the sixteenth-century in Italy becomes apparent in the light of debates concerning the importance of works. Romanino gives expression to the active part of man in his own salvation through the contrast between the three sleeping soldiers, and the fourth of the guards, who has half-risen from the ground, and with eyes wide open has turned towards the figure of Christ. Recognition of the importance of Christ is dawning on the face of the soldier, whose sharp and intelligent features are in stark contrast to the brutish faces of the other guards. Unlike the faces of the other soldiers, too, the man in the left hand foreground has turned his eyes towards the light emanating from Christ, and his spiritual understanding is likened to the appearance of morning on the horizon.

Romanino's altarpiece of the Resurrection of Christ was displayed next to Callisto Piazza's Martyrdom of Sts. Gervasio e Protasio.⁶² Like Romanino, Piazza had also been employed to work in Santa Maria in Calchera, and both artists continued to work for the Congregation on several occasions.⁶³ Piazza's altarpiece referred to the titular saints of the church, and thus reaffirmed the concern of the Congregation with subjects of local importance. His panel of the Martyrdom of Sts. Gervasio and Protasio shares important characteristics with Romanino's Resurrection: both scenes are set against an open landscape and take place in twilight, and the predominant artistic source for both images is Titian's

⁶¹ Collett (1985): 52.

⁶² Nova (1994): 258.

⁶³ On Piazza, see Sciolla (1989). For a review of the catalogue, Nova (1989) 874-876.

Resurrection Polyptych for the church of SS. Nazaro e Celso.⁶⁴ Indeed, by the seventeenth-century Piazza's altarpiece was attributed to Titian, and had been accredited with miraculous powers: 'nella Terra di Capriolo nella Chiesa di Ss. Gervasio e Protasio trovansi all'Altar maggiore una Tavola dipintovi sopra il martirio di detti Santi opera insigne di Tiziano, la quale oltre l'eccellenza ha dimostrato evidenti miracoli'.⁶⁵ The altarpieces executed by Romanino and Callisto Piazza for SS. Gervasio e Protasio at Capriolo can thus be seen as a comment on the artistic preferences of the patron as much as a further demonstration of the preoccupation of the Congregation with themes of local importance and questions of salvation.

These themes were further explored in the next commission Romanino executed for the Congregation of Santa Giustina. He worked on a fresco cycle with Scenes from the Life of Saint Obizio, and a Flagellation of Christ for the chapel of Sant'Obizio in the church of San Salvatore in 1526 (fig.31).⁶⁶ The former work, which covers the outside as well as the inside of the chapel, is the most extensive treatment, in painting, of the life of the twelfth-century *cavaliere* (1150-1204) from Niardo in the Val Camonica region of the Bresciano. Saint Obizio had abandoned his military career for a life as monk in the Brescian monastery of Santa Giulia, which formed part of the monastic complex of San Salvatore, where he died in 1204. Obizio was buried in Santa Giulia, and his cult gained in popularity when, in the fourteenth-century, water springing from his tomb was found to possess healing powers.⁶⁷ The cult of Saint Obizio was

⁶⁴ Passamani (1989): 163; 182-184.

⁶⁵ Paglia (1675-1714): 107.

⁶⁶ Nova (1994a): 259-260; Panazza (1965a): 259-260.

⁶⁷ Nova (1994a): 260; Gregorio di Valcamonica (1698): 359-365.

particularly prominent in San Salvatore in Brescia, and Romanino's fresco cycle celebrated the sanctity and antiquity of the monastery, in which the saint had lived and died. Above the entrance to the chapel, Romanino depicted the moment of Obizio's conversion. In the aftermath of a victorious battle, Obizio, still seated on horseback, and in the midst of the fallen bodies of foes and comrades, experienced a divine vision which persuaded him to enter the monastery as an oblate of the Benedictine Order. Inside the chapel, Romanino depicts, on the left, St. Obizio as an oblate, on the altar wall St. Obizio with two kneeling worshippers, and on the right wall, St. Obizio presents his wife and children to the Virgin Mary. The imagery here shows the transformation of a knight into a *miles Christiani*, or soldier of Christ.

Romanino tells of the attainability of salvation in the imitation and service of Christ: the frescoes of the Life of St. Obizio need to be read with reference to the focal image of the chapel, the badly damaged Flagellation of Christ. As has already been discussed with reference to the Capriolo Resurrection (fig.29), the physical corporeality of the figure of Christ is typical for works executed for the Congregation of Santa Giustina. The life of St. Obizio demonstrates the value of works in the service of Christ, and calls on the beholder to imitate him. The focus of Christ in the church of San Salvatore is not surprising, and it is noteworthy that the Congregation of Santa Giustina acquired this house soon after its settlement in Brescia.

On the left wall of the chapel, above the window, is a depiction of the heraldic eagle of the Martinengo family, and on the jamb to the left, Romanino frescoed a group of nuns. It has already been mentioned that San Salvatore was one of only three nunneries held by the Congregation of Santa Giustina, and in

1526, when Romanino was commissioned to execute the cycle of the Life of St. Obizio, the abbe of San Salvatore was Adeodata Martinengo. This underlines the prestige of the commission for Romanino: the monastic complex of San Salvatore was one of the oldest religious foundations of Brescia, and it enjoyed the patronage of leading Brescian families such as the Martinengo family who were important patrons of Romanino's throughout his life.⁶⁸

Like the representations of the Mass of St. Apollonius, the Life of Saint Obizio gave visual expression to the spiritual prominence of Brescia. The commission for the cycle of the Life of St. Obizio was Romanino's last major commission for a house of the Cassinese Congregation for almost a decade. After completion of the cycle, in ca. 1530, he left Brescia on a sojourn to Trent. Although his contribution at Trent was well received by the patron, Cardinal Bernardo Clesio, the stay at the Castello del Buonconsiglio did mark a downturn in Romanino's fortunes. His employment in Clesio's service was restricted to 10 months, and his return to Brescia was fraught with difficulties as Moretto had meanwhile strengthened his hold on the market. In addition, Romanino experienced difficulties with payment for a number of his commissions in the 1530s. For example, in 1537, Antonio Maria Gennari de Mazzoleni commented on Romanino's organ shutters for Sant'Andrea in Salò:

Si dice ancora che esso messer Hieronmimo Romanino ha fato opere di pictura
laudabile secondo la sua maniera et nondimeno esso non è numerato nel numero
de valenti dell'età nostra i quale son pochi et rari et perché di questi valenti se ne

⁶⁸ Works associated with the Martinengo family include the 1520 Betrothal of the Virgin in the baptistery of San Giovanni Evangelista (Nova (1994): 237-238); the works for Sant'Andrea.

fa mencione in diversi lochi [...]. Romanino non è compreso nel suo numero benché sia vecchio de sessanta anni, de quali così valenti se alcuno havesse fatto queste ante non bisognaria andar a dugento scudi ma a miliaria come si può considerar da un quadro fatto da Raphael de Urbino.⁶⁹

It was the works of the 1530s that earned Romanino the description of 'coloritor bizzarro, fiero e cappriccioso inventore'.⁷⁰ The negative associations of *cappriccioso* are explained by Lomazzo: 'i moti cappricciosi sono ridicoli, bizzari, fantastici, e sono proprio di coloro che si mutano spesso di volere. [...] Sono ancora propri di coloro che, a giusa d'istrioni con atti a loro convenienti fingono il fanciullo, il bravo, l'umile, il crudele, il vecchio, la donna e simili'.⁷¹ What becomes apparent from these statements is that it is not the manner of Romanino as such, which was objected to, but his lack of decorum in applying it. This is most apparent in reactions to Romanino's frescoes at Trent.

Frangenberg has drawn attention to the difficulties contemporary critics, such as the Sienese Pier Andrea Mattioli, experienced with Romanino's use of nudity in the Loggia del Leone at Trent (fig.5). Mattioli published a poem, Il Magno Palazzo del Cardinale di Trento in 1539, in which he commented on the Loggia del Leone that 'all around this noble space, the good painter has demonstrated the art of painting nude bodies with lively gestures. Some people maintain, though, that they are not decent'.⁷² The concern is less with the nudity of

Asola, in 1526 (Nova (1994): 255-256) and the frescoes for Casa Martinengo, 1532-34 (Nova, (1994): 284-285).

⁶⁹ ACS, vol. 175, 'Organo, ante, riparazioni ecc'; Nova (1994a): 32.

⁷⁰ Ridolfi (1648): 268.

⁷¹ Lomazzo (1584): II, 409.

⁷² Frangenberg (1993):370, n.65:

Attorno, attorno a i nobili pavimenti
Mostrat'hal buon pittor qual l'arte sia

the figures themselves, but with their location. This tendency of Romanino's to disregard decorum made him an increasingly unpopular choice for religious commissions. The 1530s instead were one of Moretto's most active periods.

Apart from concerns about his decorum, there may be a further explanation for Romanino's growing difficulties on the market for religious imagery. The watershed of 1518 had led to two different approaches to imagery. On the one hand, there was a movement towards a strict adherence to traditional stereotypes. For example, the proliferation of images depicting the subject of the 'Virgin and Child Enthroned with saints' emphasises this point. On the other hand, it was noticeable that in the 1520's and 1530's new subjects were introduced into painting, of decidedly more dogmatic and doctrinal content. The style of these images is traditional, however. These new subjects were introduced by drawing on familiar stereotypes of imagery, and building on them. Of the two major Brescian masters, the one most likely to follow the option of drawing on such traditional stereotypes of imagery in order to describe new subject-matter was Moretto. His style and working practices suited the called for repetition of stereotypes, and once he had found a satisfactory solution to a visual problem, he tended to repeat the successful formula over and over again.⁷³ It is surely no coincidence that this working practice of Moretto's became more pronounced at the same time as Romanino's difficulties grew. For certain commissions, Romanino chose to abandon the traditional style of painting in favour of a more 'anti-classical' manner of painting. The substance of this approach was the re-

Di finger nudi corpi in vivi gesti,
Se ben dice qualchun non sono honesti.

invention of traditional subject-matter by depicting familiar subjects in an unfamiliar style.⁷⁴ Nova has picked up on this tendency, which he relates again to the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua, and in particular to a hypothetical acquaintance of Romanino and the maccaronic poet and Benedictine monk Teofilo Folengo.⁷⁵ Whatever the artistic merits of this approach, it proved unpopular with patrons.

Romanino returned to work for the Cassinese Congregation at the very end of his life. In 1556, by then in his seventies, he was employed with his son-in-law Lattanzio Gambara to decorate the library of Sant'Eufemia with a cycle of Old and New Testament scenes. This (badly damaged) decoration of the library of Sant'Eufemia in Brescia with frescoes of the Baptism of Christ, and other Scenes from the Life of Christ, was his last documented work. Towards the end of the seventeenth-century Francesco Paglia described it cursorily as :

Se non vi agrava l'incomodo di salir la scala ci porteremo in libreria quasi tutta dipinta a fresco dal Lattanzio Gambara e dal Romanino. Et tutte queste cose sono così riccamente addornate d'ogni vaghezza e leggiadria, che sono l'oggetto dell'istessa curiosità.⁷⁶

The cycle was whitewashed after 1797, shortly after the secularisation of the monastery, and has received very little scholarly attention. The original appearance of the decoration is difficult to reconstruct given its disastrous state of

⁷³ Moretto was the head of a highly successful workshop, and it can be argued that much of his output was executed in the workshop, using and re-using cartoons. Lucchesi Ragni (1988): 223-230.

⁷⁴ The different approaches to religious painting adopted by Romanino and Moretto are discussed in Cassa Salvi (1988): 258-263.

⁷⁵ Nova (1994b): 664-679.

preservation. However, Gisolfi and Sinding-Larsen's recent study of the library at Praglia has shown that Zelottis' canvasses were characterised by a combative attitude and 'the concomitant issues of instruction suggest a relationship to the dogmatic and doctrinal situation preceding the Reformation and developing through the period of the Council of Trent'.⁷⁷ These concerns reflect the Benedictines preoccupation with salvation to the same extent as has characterised Romanino's commissions examined in this chapter for the order. The topic chosen by the Benedictines for the decoration of their library reflected the main topic of their studies, that is the salvation of man brought about by the agency of Christ and man's participation in the work of salvation by good works. It can be assumed that the library at Brescia was comparable in this aspect with the one at Praglia.

Over the fifty years of Romanino's sporadic employment by the Benedictines, he was called on to explore themes crucial to the spirituality and the teachings of the Congregation. This refers in particular to the question of salvation.

These works, though, bear the signs of his stylistic development as a painter, and differ widely in their approach to the subject matter. Romanino's work does not as such promote a 'corporate identity' of the Congregation, but he searched, in ever-changing images of the same subjects, for the answers the Congregation looked for in their studies. This vitality and vibrancy of Romanino's approach answers the question as to why he was never suited to execute high altarpieces: the static, devotional quality of a high altarpiece, and the

⁷⁶ Nova (1994a): 349-350; Gisolfi and Sinding-Larsen (1998): 88.

⁷⁷ Cocke (1999): 237

unquestioning celebration of a stable *status quo* was not suited to the inquisitive imagination of Romanino. The strong Christo-centric and Eucharistic connotations of the work of Romanino for the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua can thus be explained as an indication of their spirituality and the direction of their studies in the sixteenth-century. Similarly, the promotion of Early Christian, and local saints, such as Saints Apollonius, Faustino and Giovita, and Obizio, endow the houses of the Congregation with the authority of a long-standing tradition of worship in the churches. At the same time, they stress the links of the saints, and thus, by implication of the Benedictines who have chosen to represent them, with Brescia. The representation of early Christian saints such as Apollonius, Faustino, Giovita and the medieval Obizio for churches of the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua in Brescia gave visual expression to the pretension of the Benedictines to antiquity of foundation and spiritual prominence amongst other orders and Congregations, while promoting the Brescian identity and location of these images. This latter concern was of particular importance for the local patrician families who regularly patronised churches of the order.

In conclusion, it is necessary to consider the nature, and ultimately, the success, of Romanino's association with the Benedictines. The long association of the Brescian painter with the Congregation over several decades speaks of the readiness of the Benedictines to employ the painter. In the works he executed for their churches, he successfully reconciled the needs of the Congregation for the exposition of a religious message, with the necessity to expound doctrinal content in an aesthetically convincing image. Romanino fulfilled this requirement in his earlier works. Altarpieces such as the Paduan Virgin and Child with Saints (fig 21), or the Mass of St. Apollonius for Santa Maria in Calchera (fig 23), were

well received works, commissioned by the Congregation itself, or patrician families. Both of these altarpieces are amongst Romanino's most Venetian works. The correlation between his style, and the success of commissions for Santa Giustina becomes more apparent in works such as the fresco cycle for San Salvatore. The appearance of these frescoes is further removed from mainstream images than any of Romanino's earlier works. Commissions for the Congregation began to dwindle as a result. A revival of his fortunes occurred in the last two decades of his life, when economic necessity seems to have curtailed Romanino's individualistic streak.

The works he executed for the Congregation show the mark of his stylistic development over 50 years. There is no unifying visual appearance that makes it possible to associate the style of these images with the Order. Instead, what unifies the group is their subject matter, and the recurrent concern with the question of salvation. The second theme of importance is a reference to local saints.

It may be possible to conjecture, however, that Romanino's stylistic versatility suited a Congregation whose attitudes to salvation were ever evolving in the first decades of the sixteenth-century. The maverick Romanino, in many ways, was an apt choice of artist for a Congregation which promoted individual learning as a way to salvation.

The most noticeable gap in his years of association were the 1530s, a period during which Romanino predominantly worked in the Val Camonica. This decade was characterised by Romanino's stylistic experiments; at the same time, his subject matter also veered away from the type of imagery produced by Moretto in

Brescia. Both factors taken together may explain the lack of commissions throughout this period.

The same decade was one of great controversy for the Congregation, too. Most noticeably, a series of apostasies in the 1530s compromised the orthodoxy of the Benedictines.⁷⁸ Their reluctance to undermine this precarious spiritual position even further by employing a painter of questionable repute is understandable. Romanino's association with the Congregation revived in the 1550s, at a time when the painter had started collaborating with his son-in-law, the Cremonese Lattanzio Gambara. The Congregation meanwhile had sufficiently recovered from the troubles of the 1530s to consider once more the re-employment of the painter.

The visual identity fashioned for the Congregation by Romanino in Brescia therefore was one that depended on subject matter rather than style. The appearance of these works is varied, and none of the works can be identified through style as works executed for the Congregation of Santa Giustina. The size, as well as the evolving and dynamic attitude of the Congregation towards theological precepts precluded this extent of visual control. It can be debated whether Romanino's works were successful in establishing a recognisable visual identity for the Congregation in Brescia. His style, changeable and at the fringe of developments, suited an inquisitive Congregation that was tainted with accusations of evangelism. This contrasts sharply with the visual policy adopted by the Augustinian Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga, which will be examined in the next chapter.

⁷⁸ Collett (1985): 92 ff.

Chapter 3

Fashioning a corporate identity:

Moretto and the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga

1540- 1550¹

To be sure, there was little that was new in the important role religion played in defining the social and political lives of Italian merchants and artisans. What was new, was the profusion of heresies, the increase in the number of religious possibilities, and the consequent difficulties of choice and self-definition that artisans and merchants faced in the Renaissance city.²

¹ A version of this chapter on 'Moretto & the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga: Fashioning a Visual identity of a Religious Congregation' was presented at the 24th Annual Conference of the Association of Art Historians in Exeter in April 1998. The paper will be published in Rogers, M. (ed.), Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art, London (forthcoming).

² Martin (1996): 369.

The discussion of the 'corporate patronage' proffered by a religious Congregation to one painter, which was started in the previous chapter, will be extended further by an exploration of the association of the Augustinian Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga with Moretto. In contrast to Romanino's life-long association with the Benedictines, Moretto was mainly active for San Giorgio in Alga in the 1540s. It will also become apparent from the discussion in this chapter, that the nature of Moretto's employment for the Congregation was a more formalised, and ultimately more successful relationship than the one between Romanino and Santa Giustina. This was largely to do with Moretto's working practices, and his reliance on an efficient workshop, which allowed for the easy imitation of his style and motifs.

Other factors to be considered include the comparatively smaller size of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga, and its particular situation in the 1540s. During that period, the Congregation was under the leadership of a Brescian Prior general, and the seat of the Congregation had moved from Venice to Brescia. Due to the relocation of the Congregation from Venice there was therefore greater emphasis on the Brescian context for commissions of San Giorgio in Alga than is apparent in Romanino's works for the Benedictines. It can also be argued that the nature of the visual identity the Augustinian Congregation strove to establish differed from the preoccupations which had been displayed by the Benedictines.

Moreover, one final factor will be the consideration of the spirituality of the Congregation, and Moretto's stylistic choices in visualising their concerns. In contrast again to the larger Benedictine Congregation, the smaller size of the Augustinians allowed for a tighter control of commissions, and even made it

possible to strive towards a visual unity by means of imitating the style and subject matter of Moretto's works in churches of the Congregation.

This chapter will consider a group of six works, executed by Moretto for four different houses of the Congregation:

Table 3 Moretto's works for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga

Date	Subject	Name of Church	Location
1540	<u>Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Cecilia, Catherine of Alexandria, Lucy, Barbara and Agnese</u> (fig.35).	San Giorgio in Braida	Verona
1544	<u>Supper in the House of Simon the Pharisee</u>	San Giacomo Maggiore, Refectory ³	Lonigo, Vicenza
1545?	<u>Wedding at Cana</u>	SS. Fermo e Rustico	Lonigo, Vicenza
1545-50	<u>Virgin and Child in Glory, with St. John the Evangelist, the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani and the Allegory of Divine Wisdom</u> (fig.39;40).	San Pietro in Oliveto, altar of the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani	Brescia
1550	<u>Organ shutters: Sts. Peter and Paul supporting the edifice of the church (closed) (fig.45); Flight and the Fall of Simon Magus (open state) (fig.43;44).</u>	San Pietro in Oliveto	Brescia
1550	<u>The Trinity crowning the Virgin; Sts. Peter and Paul and the Allegories of Justice and Peace</u> (fig.41).	San Pietro in Oliveto, high altar	Brescia

The variety of works he executed (with substantial help from his workshop) included altarpieces, organ shutters and in one case, a Supper with Simon the Pharisee for a refectory. These works have never been studied as a coherent body of works, yet they were an essential contribution to the

refashioning of the visual identity of the Congregation in the sixteenth-century. In this, the works respond to the spiritual crisis San Giorgio in Alga faced in the wake of the Reformation.

It is noticeable in the literature dealing with the fortunes of Observant Congregations such as San Giorgio in Alga and Santa Giustina of Padua, that little attention has hitherto been paid to the developments within these Congregations during the sixteenth-century. Notable, but rare exceptions, are Collett's study on the Benedictines, and Guazzoni's brief essay on the Augustinians of San Giorgio in Alga.⁴ The sparseness of separate studies on the spirituality of these Congregations in the sixteenth-century is, for the purposes of this study, especially regrettable in the case of Brescian painting, but much information can nevertheless be gleaned from the empirical evidence of the pictures themselves.

The Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga was founded in Venice in 1404, preceding the foundation of the Congregation of Santa Giustina by 5 years.⁵ Tomasini, the earliest published source on the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga, stated in 1642 that towards the end of the fifteenth-century Gabriel Condulmer, the future Pope Eugenius IV, and his friend and cousin, Antonio Correr, brother of Angelo Correr (who was to become Pope Gregory XII in 1406), started living withdrawn lives, devoted to the service of Christ and, in particular, to the Holy Spirit.⁶ Their example was soon followed by other young Venetian nobles; in

³ Begni Redona (1988): 395. Earlier scholars had cited a provenance of the image from the refectory of SS. Fermo e Rustico, Da Ponte, L'opera del Moretto, 1898.

⁴ Collett (1985); Guazzoni (1988): 264-272.

⁵ Cracco gives the exact date of the foundation of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga as 1404. This is the date of the first document referring to the Canons. Cracco (1959): 73. For a brief summary, Humfrey (1993): 95.

⁶ Tomasini, Annales canonicorum secularium Sancti Georgii in Alga, Udine 1642; Cracco (1959): 70-88; Sambin (1955): 249-258; Pratesi (1964): 244-249; Hay, (1993): 496-502; Walsh (1989): 80-100.

1402, Lorenzo Giustiniani followed the example of his uncle, Marino Quirini, 'seguendo l'ideale di perfezione ascetica di cui davano prove un gruppo di amici dell'ambiente nobiliare, in particolare lo zio Marino Quirini, si ritira nell'isola di S.Giorgio in Alga, dove si stava avviando una forma di vita claustrale ispirata all'ideale agostiniano'.⁷ The group was first referred to as the *canonici secolari di S.Giorgio in Alga* in a document dated 15 March 1404, when Pope Boniface IX made Angelo Barbarigo, nephew of Antonio Correr, the Prior of San Niccolò al Lido.⁸ From the same document it becomes apparent that the Canons had used the Benedictine convent of San Niccolò al Lido as their meeting place, before transferring, at an unknown date, to the island of San Giorgio in Alga, from which the Congregation eventually took its name.⁹

San Giorgio in Alga, an island placed close to Venice in the south-west of the lagoon, offered a more tranquil place for spiritual retreat and meditation than San Niccolò al Lido.¹⁰ The monastery of San Giorgio in Alga, situated on the island, had passed in 1350 from the Benedictines to the Augustinian Order. In 1397, Ludovico Barbo received the benefice of San Giorgio in Alga at a time when only two Canons, Onorato da Venezia, and Ludovico da Firenze, occupied the monastery.¹¹ The Benedictine Barbo then became associated with the Augustinian Congregation, whose ideals were akin to his own. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, when Barbo went on to become the founder of the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua in 1409, he imbued his new

On the importance of San Giorgio in Alga in the foundation of the Augustinian Lateran Canons and the Benedictine Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua see Hay (1977): 75 ff.

On the iconography of Lorenzo Giustiniani, see Douglas-Scott (1988): 672-679

⁷ Niero (1961): 21.

⁸ Pratesi (1964): 245.

⁹ Cracco (1959): 73.

¹⁰ Hollingsworth (1994): 98-99.

¹¹ Tramontin (1984): 95, n.23.

benefice with the same spirit of reform as characterised the Augustinians of San Giorgio in Alga.¹²

Under the powerful protection of Cardinal Angelo Correr and of Gabriel Condulmer, who received the cardinal's purple in 1408 and who was elected Pope Eugenius IV in 1431, the Congregation grew, and was given further houses to look after.¹³ In 1431 San Giorgio in Braida in Verona was transferred to San Giorgio in Alga by Pope Eugenius IV. The Brescian house of San Pietro in Oliveto in Brescia joined the Congregation in 1437. Yet, despite these early acquisitions, San Giorgio in Alga always remained a small and geographically restricted Congregation whose emphasis was on meditation, with devoted service to the Pope and 'orthodoxy' of religious beliefs being of equal importance. The distinctive approach of the Congregation to the Papacy and the teachings of the Church was emphasised in descriptions of the lives of famous Canons of San Giorgio in Alga. One example is the Vita Beati Laurenti Iustiniani Venetiarum Patriarchae, a celebration of one of its founding members, the Blessed Ludovico Giustiniani.¹⁴ The picture that emerges is that of an inquisitive, but always orthodox Congregation, which was never at odds with the Papacy, and which was never under the cloud of suspicion of heresy and dissent. This image of the Congregation is in contrast to the more controversial Benedictines of Santa Giustina of Padua. In the commissions Moretto executed for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga in the 1540's, it was precisely these aspects, of orthodoxy of belief and of unswerving deference to the primacy of the Pope, which were

¹² Pratesi (1964): 245.

¹³ Most of the houses of San Giorgio in Alga were concentrated in the North of Italy, but there were notable exceptions, such as San Salvatore in Lauro in Rome, or Santo Elói in Lisbon. Chambers (1998): 87-108.

¹⁴ The Vita Beati Laurenti Iustiniani Venetiarum Patriarchae was written by Bernardo Giustiniani, and was published in Venice in 1475. Douglas-Scott (1988): 672-679, esp. p.674.

emphasised. A further measure of the spiritual concerns of the Venetian Congregation was the close links they forged with reformers such as Ambrogio Traversari, the general of the Camaldolese Order and also the main promoter of humanist Christian studies in Florence. Traversari, like the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga and the Benedictines of Santa Giustina of Padua, perceived humanistic studies as a way out of the crisis of the church in the fifteenth-century. This same approach was to characterise the spiritual preoccupations of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga in the sixteenth-century.¹⁵

Another Congregation whose origins were intimately connected with the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga, was the Augustinian Regular Lateran Canons. Their origins also date back to the Observance movement of the fifteenth-century, to 1401, when Leone Gherardini, yet another Venetian patrician, went to the derelict convent of St. Maria di Fregionaia near Lucca, where he installed reforms similar to the reforms Ludovico Barbo later carried out in Padua. Like Barbo, Leone Gherardini was also associated with the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga.¹⁶ By 1440, the Lateran Canons had been assigned the church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia, and between 1521-24, the Canons of the church of San Giovanni Evangelista chose Moretto and Romanino for the task of decorating the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament (see chapter Four)¹⁷. Moretto and Romanino had thus already worked for Augustinian patrons before 1540, and the choice of Moretto as the painter most closely associated with San Giorgio in Alga in the 1540's would therefore have been based on familiarity with his style. Other factors were Moretto's reputation for piety. He is known to have been a member of several confraternities, such as the Confraternity of the Holy

¹⁵ Spencer (1991): 92 ff. See also Stinger (1977); Trinkaus and Oberman (eds. 1974).

Sacrament in the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia, as well as the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in his local parish church. Further to his activities in his local parish church, he also counted amongst his friends religious reformers such as Angela Merici and Agostino Gallo.¹⁸ Through Merici, Moretto was in close contact with reform movements within Brescia. Moreover, this had brought him into close contact with powerful patrons connected with the Congregation. All of these factors taken together bear witness to the suitability of the painter for the visual aims of the Congregation.

The greatest challenge to the perception of a religious identity within the religious orders in general, and the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga in particular, belonged to the sixteenth-century and, especially, to the period of the Reformation and its immediate aftermath. The need for a reconsideration of attitudes towards the Papacy and the teachings of the Church grew originally out of the propagation of the Lutheran challenge to the indulgence system of the Church as being 'foremost among Rome's predatory practices'.¹⁹ The writings of Protestant reformers such as Martin Luther were available in Italy by 1521, and their impact could be felt especially in Northern Italy with its close trade links with Germany.²⁰ Ultimately, Martin Luther's 95 Theses were to lead to a definitive break between the Catholic and Protestant churches, ratified by the convocation of the Council of Trent in 1545 by Pope Paul III.²¹

Concurrent with debates on religious teaching and dogma were debates on the function and use of religious imagery. This debate gained in intensity

¹⁶ Hays (1977): 77-78; 89-90; Wildloecher (1929): 17ff.

¹⁷ Guerrini et al. (1995): 3.

¹⁸ Dell'Acqua (1988): 127-128.

¹⁹ Ozment (1993): 13. See also Greengrass (1998, pp. 43-58.

²⁰ Martin (1993); Williams (1992). Also, Jung (1953): 511-527.

²¹ Jedin (1961): vol.II.

immediately after the division between Catholics and Protestants occurred in the 1520s when there still was a hope of reconciling the differences between them.²²

A relevant case is that of Gasparo Contarini. His biography offers an insight into the confusion of the early decades of the sixteenth-century, in particular with reference to the spiritual crises of Gasparo Contarini. Contarini's experiences illustrate a crisis shared by the Congregation, in one of whose houses, the Madonna dell'Orto in Venice, he eventually came to be buried.²³ He passionately believed in the possibility of a reconciliation of Catholic and Protestants, up to his death in 1542 but all along Contarini's faith in the primacy of the Pope, and the truth of the teachings of the Church remained unshaken. The same preoccupations are apparent in the works Moretto executed for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga in Brescia in the 1540's. Following the failure of the Diet of Regensburg in 1541 over the question of Justification, and the death of Cardinal Contarini, reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants was no longer possible though. Subsequently much Catholic religious imagery produced after this date started to take on a combative and more aggressively anti-heretical stance. The works by Moretto for the Congregation's main seat in Brescia, San Pietro in Oliveto are not marked by a conciliatory spirit but instead, the emphasis of the imagery is on orthodoxy of belief, and on the condemnation of heresy. While this statement universally applies to altarpieces produced in the 1540s, the works for San Giorgio in Alga are special in the erudition of their subject matter, and the adoption of one style, Moretto's, for the distribution of

²² Mangrum and Scavizzi (1991); Freedberg (1989); Ferino Pagden, (1990): 165-189. A more general study is Koenigsberger, Mosse and Bowler, Europe in the Sixteenth Century, New York, 1989, pp. 160-166.

²³Gleason (1993): 3 n.10.

the message of the order's orthodoxy, and adherence to Catholic doctrine. The main vehicle for the propagation of this message was the altarpiece.

Humfrey has stated that 'of the various artistic genres practised in sixteenth-century Venice and the cities of the Veneto, that of the altarpiece was probably the one most directly affected by the religious ferment that accompanied the Reformation and Counter Reformation'.²⁴ The function of religious imagery as a means of defining religious identity was therefore particularly interesting in the first half of the sixteenth-century. The age-old securities of the medieval belief system of the church had been undermined and challenged by the Reformation, and a new visual language was needed to express new beliefs or to affirm the old faith.

By the 1540s, not only were most of the established religious orders present in Brescia, but the town had also become a focal point for the promotion of new religious foundations and devotions. Giuseppe Piantanida da Fermo, for instance, introduced the new practice of the *Quarant'Ore*, or Forty Hours devotion in 1536 (see chapter Five). Amongst the new local foundations was the *Conservatorio delle Convertite della Carità* which had been founded by Countess Laura Gambara and Gerolamo Patengola in response to the suffering caused by the cruel sacking of the town in 1512. Bartolommeo Stella introduced the Oratory of Divine Love in 1520 and Francesco Santabona, also in the 1520s, founded the *Compagnia dei Padri della Pace*.²⁵ Furthermore, the first Jesuits, Claudio Iaio and Francesco Strada, had arrived by the early 1540s. Yet apart from the arrival and the foundation of new orders, which created new opportunities for artistic patronage, the established traditional ones such as the

²⁴ Humfrey (1996): 371.

Mendicants, or the Benedictines, were also engaged in the commissioning of images for their churches.²⁶ In the 1540's, there were still churches that had not recovered from the devastation of the Sack of 1512, and in addition, the relocation of monasteries and churches to new buildings within the city walls led to further opportunities for artistic commissions.²⁷

Of the two leading painters in Brescia in the 1540's, it was Moretto who became the obvious choice for the Congregation. By then, he held the lion's share of the market in the town and was particularly in demand for the execution of portraits and altarpieces. The reasons for the downturn in Romanino's artistic fortunes in the 1540s have already been discussed. In contrast to Romanino's reputation as a painter 'non è numerato nel numero de valenti dell'età nostra', Moretto was at the pinnacle of his career.²⁸ The stylistic difference between the two artists which made Moretto more attractive to such patrons as San Giorgio in Alga was described by Vasari who celebrated Moretto as a painter whose works were 'delicatissimo ne'colori e tanto amico della diligenza', a quality much in demand in the 1540s.²⁹ This contrasts starkly with Romanino's more painterly, and at times even sketchy style.³⁰ Furthermore, Moretto's works are characterised by a stillness, and a feeling of serenity, which is in stark contrast to the animated nature of much of Romanino's work.³¹ In addition, Moretto displayed a remarkable ability to visualise complex theoretical themes in his art by adapting familiar compositions to the requirements of the new subject matter.³² Moretto's

²⁶ Cistellini (1948): 18-23.

²⁷ Cistellini (1948): 22.

²⁸ See discussion in chapter One; Bayer (1991): 192-278.

²⁹ ACS, vol.175, 'Organo, ante, riparazioni ecc'; Nova (1994a): 32.

³⁰ Vasari/Milanesi (1906): III, 350; Lucchesi Ragni (1988): 223-230.

³¹ This applies in particular to the fresco cycles Romanino executed for the Val Camonica region of the Bresciano; Nova (1994a): 287-292; 297-301; 310- 311.

³² Cassa Salvi (1988): 258.

³³ Terraroli (1988a): 280-286.

association with religious confraternities is also noteworthy in this context. Moretto's familiarity with leading reformers and his association with important ecclesiastical patrons thus made him the ideal choice by San Giorgio in Alga as the painter for erudite and scholarly subject matter.³³

One of the clearest demonstrations of Moretto's ability to visualise complex theological precepts in an altarpiece, which may have influenced the decision by San Giorgio in Alga to employ Moretto in the first place, is his altarpiece for the Olivetan abbey church of San Nicola at Rodengo.³⁴ Moretto's Christ in Glory consigning the keys to St. Peter, and the Book of Doctrine to St. Paul (fig.32), was painted prior to 1540, that is, it preceded Moretto's association with San Giorgio in Alga. The qualities which became so important to the Augustinian Canons, though, are already discernible, and fully matured in Moretto's art. There are no visual precedents for the unusual combination of subject matter of the altarpiece. Moretto has conceived his canvas in a compositional arrangement which recalls Raphael's Madonna of Foligno in the way in which the saints are placed on either side of the apparition of Christ 'in nubibus'. In his discussion of the motif of the 'Virgo in nubibus', Chastel describes the effect of such a composition, as one where 'the relationship between heaven and earth dominates the whole composition', and one where 'the framing pilasters are pushed apart, permitting the horizon to dilate'.³⁵ Moretto's composition takes on a general, universal significance in the gesture of Christ, who from above assigns Sts. Peter and Paul their respective tasks. The inscription in the book which Christ hands to St. Paul is clearly legible as 'VT/ POR/TES// NO/ MEN/ MEUM' (Acts 9,15) and refers to God's command to St. Paul, after

³³ Cassa Salvi (1988): 258-263; Guazzoni (1985): 151-176.

his conversion on the way to Damascus, to go and 'bear God's name into the world'. As an indication of peace, St. Paul's sword is sheathed and wrapped in pink ribbons. The sword has become the staff of a pilgrim. Yet it is also an expression of the potency of the word of God which is likened in Ephesians to a spiritual sword, 'gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei'.³⁶ The choice of the subject matter may be non-biblical but it is symbolic: the altarpiece gives visual expression to the establishment of the Church upon the foundations laid by the apostles and their missionary activities. The inclusion of St. Peter also refers to the primacy of St. Peter as the first successor of Christ on earth; in the light of attacks by Protestant writers, both the emphasis on the primacy of St. Peter, and the prominence of the book, underline the claims of the Catholic Church's authority to teach, which was given to the church by Christ. This mandate is emphasised by Moretto's inclusion of the book, here handed to St. Paul by Christ.

The clear division of the canvas into an upper, heavenly, and lower earthly sphere is breached through the gesture of Christ, who hands the keys to St. Peter and the 'word' to St. Paul. The message put forward in Moretto's altarpiece is unequivocal: the only way to salvation is through the institution of the church and in adherence to its teaching. The church was established by Christ, and founded on St. Peter. It is the Catholic Church, with its head the Pope which has the divine mandate to teach. The emphasis is on the primacy of the Pope and the orthodoxy and god-given nature of the Church's doctrines. In teaching, the Church followed a missionary tradition established by Christ Himself.

³⁴ Begni Redona (1988): 360-362; Guazzoni (1981): 47-51.

The subjects of ‘authority’ and of ‘tradition’ were highly topical in the 1540s and were amongst the first topics to be debated at the Council of Trent.³⁷ Moretto’s altarpiece responds directly to current theological debates.

The Rodengo altarpiece demonstrates the attraction Moretto held for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga. In addition to being the ideal choice of artist for translating complex theological precepts into imagery, Moretto was also the favourite choice of a number of the patrons and supporters of the Congregation. One such supporter was Uberto Gambara.

Gambara was elected the Cardinal Protector of San Giorgio in Alga in 1546 but, prior to that, he had already commissioned the altarpiece of the Virgin and Child in Glory with Saints Joseph and Francis, and Saints Jerome, Louis of Toulouse, Anthony of Padua and Claire, with the donor Uberto Gambara for the Franciscan church of Sant’Andrea Apostolo in Pralboino (fig.33).³⁸ The commission for Pralboino employs a similar compositional scheme to the Rodengo altarpiece: the Virgin and Child are placed on a bank of clouds in the upper half of the altarpiece, with the bottom half of the image occupied by saints and the donor. Sts. Joseph and Francis are placed on the bank of clouds with the Virgin and Child, but both saints are in supplication. Of the four saints in the lower level, only on, St. Claire, shows herself aware of the vision above her. Again there are clues in the lower half of the image as to how salvation can be attained by mankind. Sts Jerome and Anthony of Padua carry books under their arms, while St. Louis of Toulouse kneels in supplication and invites the beholder of the altarpiece to join him. St. Clare carries a *ciborium* with a clearly visible

³⁵ Chastel (1990): 136.

³⁶ Eph 6,17.

³⁷ Jedin (1961).

³⁸ Begni Redona (1988): 403-405; Guazzoni (1988): 269.

host.³⁹ The prominent role assigned to books and to the depiction of the Eucharist within the altarpiece are popular Brescian motifs, which were represented repeatedly by Moretto in the 1540s. The Pralboino altarpiece is in fact characterised by a stiffness, and flatness which speaks of substantial involvement of the workshop in its execution. The figures of the saints barely interact with each other, there is a lack of any psychological engagement amongst the protagonists of the image, and all of the poses bespeak the use of stocktypes and cartoons, with the figure of the patron awkwardly placed in the bottom right hand corner. The modern, twentieth-century viewer has a different understanding of quality, and might react less than favourably to the collage of motifs in Moretto's altarpiece. The sixteenth-century viewer, however, perceived the quality of an altarpiece differently; in fact, in the case of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga, it was the formulaic nature of much of Moretto's art that made him such an attractive choice for them. Gambara's patronage of Moretto is a case of a known preference for a specific painter by a prominent member of the Congregation. The spiritual preferences expressed in the Pralboino altarpiece were shared by San Giorgio in Alga, and the success of Moretto's commission for Gambara again demonstrates the potential for a collaboration between the painter and the Augustinians.

The network of patronage connections establishing Moretto's credentials also included his relation with Canon Don Tomaso Caprioli, who was the rector of the church of Sant'Eusebio at Flero. Caprioli not only employed Moretto on an altarpiece for his parish at Flero but was also close to the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga. In the altarpiece of the Virgin and Child in Glory with Saints

³⁹ Moretto employs the same motif of St. Clare with the Eucharist for the polyptych of the

Hippolytus and Catherine of Alexandria (fig.34), now in the National Gallery, London, Moretto relied again on the compositional scheme of separating the canvas into two zones.⁴⁰ Here, the upper, heavenly sphere is occupied by the 'Virgo in nubibus', with Sts, Hippolytus and Catherine of Alexandria framing the apparition of the Virgin on either side in the lower sphere. The scene is set against a peaceful landscape. Both saints carry the palms of the martyr, and it is possible to make out, despite the bad state of conservation of the image, that Moretto has included several textual references within the image. The separation of the canvas into two clearly distinct zones was one of his favourite and easily adapted devices and so was the inclusion of tablets of stone with carved messages. Both of these motifs are easily imitated: the compositional scheme of placing an apparition of the Virgin 'in nubibus' can be adapted by substituting saints in accordance with the requirements of the composition. Moretto's workshop was large, and efficiently run, and Luchesi Ragni has demonstrated the widespread use, and re-use, of cartoons in his workshop.⁴¹ Moretto had therefore succeeded in establishing a distinctive type of altarpiece associated with him, which was easily personalised to fit the requirements of his patrons, but was also suitable to the transmission of complex theological concepts.

Taken together, it can be argued that the images executed for these three patrons all displayed the visual qualities which made Moretto the perfect choice of painter for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga. In works such as the Virgin and Child in Glory for Uberto Gambara, Moretto displayed his ability to create serene images of traditional subjects. At the same time, he also

Assumption of the Virgin for Santa Maria degli Angeli, Gardone Valtrompia, 1529-30. Begni Redona (1988): 221-230; Falsina (1969): 156-159.

⁴⁰ Begni Redona (1988): 320-321; Gould (1973): 161-162.

⁴¹ Luchesi Ragni (1988): 223-230.

demonstrated his ability to translate complex doctrinal issues, such as for example Catholic teaching on Transubstantiation, into clear and easily legible altarpieces. These images underlined his stylistic preoccupation with the representation of an ideal. In marked contrast to the heated debates occasioned by the Protestant reforms, the spiritual world depicted by Moretto in the 1540s is a beautiful and untroubled world of stability and maintenance of the *status quo*. His saints are handsome and idealised, in a calm and meditative state of mind, and they invite the beholder to follow their example. Nothing can trouble their serenity, and their confidence which is, and always has been, based on the teachings of the Church. The Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga, as has been discussed above, was particularly celebrated for its patristic studies, and its adherence to the teachings of the Church. This message was expressed by Moretto more confidently and convincingly than any other contemporary Brescian painter, and it can be assumed, that it was for these reasons that the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga turned to Moretto in the 1540s. Moretto's images retain a static, iconic character, which confirms the stability of the teachings of the Church in common with the outlook of San Giorgio in Alga.⁴²

Having examined Moretto's works for a series of individual patrons in the 1540s and the appeal his works held for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga, it will now be possible to look at the images which Moretto executed for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga, and which redefined the visual identity of an Observant Congregation with its roots in the fifteenth-century.

⁴² The difference between iconic and narrative altarpieces is discussed by Hope (1994): 535-71, and Hills (1990): 34-48.

Moretto and the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga

Moretto's first commission for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga was that for the altarpiece of the Virgin and Child with Saints Cecily, Catherine of Alexandria, Lucy, Barbara and Agnes (fig.35) for the altar under the organ in the left aisle of the church of San Giorgio in Braida in Verona, executed in 1540.⁴³ Moretto's altarpiece is a beautifully serene representation of five female saints in the lower half of the canvas, and a Virgin and Child in Glory in the upper half of the canvas. Her outspread cloak marks the Virgin as *Mater Misericordia*, a very popular devotional type of representation. At the same time, though, this was a controversial choice of motif in the light of Protestant challenges to the depiction of the Virgin Mary and of accompanying saints as intercessors. The altarpiece gives expression, though, to the special devotion of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga to the Virgin Mary. The emphasis in the lower half of the canvas on the central figure of Saint Cecily, the patron saint of music, can be explained with reference to the writings of Lorenzo Giustiniani, and also with reference to liturgical practices of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga, which employed music as a means of meditation.⁴⁴ Both halves of the image, then, depict scenes of special concern to these Augustinian Canons.

The Congregation also employed Romanino at the same time as Moretto in Verona. Romanino was commissioned to work on the organ shutters for which he depicted scenes from the life of Saint George, the patron saint of the church (figs.36,37,38).⁴⁵ The introduction of two Brescian painters, Moretto and

⁴³ Begni Redona (1988): 348-351; Dell' Acqua (1988): 137-138. See also the footnotes in both publications for further references to the altarpiece.

⁴⁴ Guazzoni (1988): 268.

⁴⁵ Nova (1994a): 307-308; Panazza (1965a): 121-122.

Romanino, to the artistic scene of Verona by the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga, was not as surprising as it might at first sight appear, but was firmly based within the context of Brescian patronage. In 1540, San Giorgio in Braida in Verona was in the process of restoration. According to the Annales of Tomasini, the Prior-General of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga in 1540-41 was the Brescian Leone Bugatto, whose seat was San Pietro in Oliveto in Brescia. It seems likely that Bugatto recommended Moretto and Romanino to the Veronese Canons. There was also a considerable colony of Brescians both within the house of San Giorgio in Braida, and the town of Verona itself.

While in Verona, Moretto gained further commissions, whereas Romanino's commission for San Giorgio in Braida remained the only work he executed there.⁴⁶ This seems to be a further comment on the success of both painters: Moretto's 'sweet' and tranquil altarpieces, with their beautiful saints clad in gorgeous fabrics, appealed more to potential patrons than Romanino's painterly, agitated and more dramatic vision of events. It is worth mentioning that Moretto's vision is akin to that of the young Veronese.

Having successfully completed the altarpiece for San Giorgio in Braida, Moretto's association with the Congregation continued. He was asked, in rapid succession, to execute the refectory paintings for San Giacomo Maggiore in

⁴⁶ Romanino executed a set of organ shutters depicting St George before the Judge (closed) and Two Scenes from the Martyrdom of St. George (open) for the Veronese church of San Giorgio in Braida in 1540. Nova (1994a): 307-308. Nova also advances the possibility that the canvas of a Virgin and Child with Sts. Cecilia, and Catherine of Alexandria, the Infant St. John the Baptist, now only known from a photograph in the Pellicolli Archive of the Getty Centre at Santa Monica, shows a work which Romanino executed for the church of San Pietro in Oliveto in the late 1540s. Nova (1994a): 333, illus. 234.

Moretto's commissions for Verona included work for Mario Averoldo, who commissioned two works for Santa Maria della Ghiara, an Adoration of the Shepherds (Berlin, Dahlem), and an altarpiece of the Virgin and Child in glory with angels, and St. Elisabeth, the Infant John the Baptist and the brothers Averoldi (destroyed in Berlin in 1945): Nova (1994a): 307-308; Begni Redona (1988): 372-373. Other works executed by Moretto during his sojourn in Verona in 1540-41 also included an altarpiece for the Augustinian church of Sant'Eufemia: Begni Redona

Monselice in 1544, and for Santi Fermo e Rustico in Lonigo (Vicenza) in 1545.⁴⁷

After 1545, his activities for the Congregation focussed on the Brescian house of San Pietro in Oliveto.

The ninth-century Benedictine church of San Pietro in Oliveto in Brescia joined the Augustinian Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga in 1437 and by the first decade of the sixteenth-century, the Brescian house had acquired some prominence within the Congregation. Between 1515 and 1550, eight Brescians were elected to the office of Prior-General of the Congregation with their seat at San Pietro in Oliveto, and it was throughout this period that a large-scale refurbishment of the church took place in an attempt at a presentation of the church which was suitable to the dignity of the Prior-General.⁴⁸ In a town as spiritually alert as Brescia, the competition amongst the confraternities and religious orders was made manifest in their demands for images which were to define their specific concerns, as well as underline diversity in their approach to religion in visual terms. The Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga was not averse to this pattern.⁴⁹ In fact, the Augustinians were foremost in developing a distinctive visual identity of their own, fashioned for them by the ever compliant Moretto. This visual identity was created in the process of decoration for San Pietro in Oliveto.

The programme of restoration for the church commenced during the priorate of Gerolamo Cavalli (1510-11) but was not completed until the 1540s.

(1988): 346-347. The Virgin and Child in Glory with Saints Onofrius and Anthony Abbot was executed for the Della Torre family. Gombosi (1943): 53-56.

⁴⁷ Begni Redona (1988): 395-399; 423-425; Dell'Acqua (1988): 151-152.

⁴⁸ Guazzoni (1988): 268, lists five of the Brescian prior-generals: Gerolamo Cavalli; Bernardino Ganassoni; Stefano da Provaglio, Pacifico di Sant'Eufemia and Leone Bugatto. For a complete list of prior-generals of the order, the earliest source available is Tomasini, G.F., Annales canonicorum secularium Sancti Georgii in Alga, Udine, 1642.

⁴⁹ On the situation in Venice, see Humfrey (1988): 401-423.

This refurbishment campaign led to the commissioning of two altarpieces and a set of organ shutters from Moretto, which depict rarely represented themes that are of particular import to the Congregation in its Brescian context. Furthermore, as has already been mentioned above, these images referred to the foundation of the Congregation in the fifteenth-century, and celebrated its traditional allegiance to the Papacy. This formed the key to the refashioning of the visual identity of the Congregation.

Taken together, the imagery produced by Moretto throughout the 1540s for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga, can thus be seen as a conscious attempt on the part of the Congregation at a fashioning of their corporate identity in direct response to the changing spiritual climate in the period immediately preceding the convocation of the Council of Trent. Unfortunately though, no treatise on an 'arts policy' produced within the Congregation survives, if indeed such a policy ever existed, and the only information available on this subject is that derived from a close study of the primary evidence of such a 'policy' in action, in the form of the images themselves.⁵⁰ In order to achieve this 'fashioning' of their identity, several priors and generals of the Congregation employed the same painter, that is Moretto, in what amounts to a conscious attempt at attaining visual unity within separate houses of the Congregation. Several recurrent themes characterise the images produced at this time. Firstly, there was a strong emphasis on the tradition of scholarship within the Order. Secondly, images created for San Giorgio in Alga affirmed the primacy of papal authority, and the traditional orthodoxy of beliefs of the Order. And thirdly, there was an emphatic assertion of the strong links of the Congregation with Brescia.

⁵⁰ Humfrey (1990): 190-211.

One of the most popular motifs within images for the order was the depiction of epigraphs, and inscriptions. As has already been discussed in previous chapters, Brescia was a centre for the publication of devotional tracts and classical writings and this played an important role for the scholarly and erudite Congregation. In particular, it was in Brescia, in 1506 that the first complete edition of the writings of Lorenzo Giustiniani, one of the founders and spiritual figure heads of the Congregation, was published.⁵¹

The first of three works Moretto executed for San Pietro in Oliveto was the altarpiece for the altar of the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani (fig.39). This altar was the first altar on the right of the church and the altarpiece was completed by Moretto in ca. 1545. The subject of the altarpiece partially explains the choice of Moretto as the artist to undertake its execution: the subject of The Virgin and Child in Glory, with St. John the Evangelist, the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani, and the allegory of Divine Wisdom has no known visual precedents and it was therefore necessary for the Congregation to employ a painter who could be expected to translate the subject into an image.⁵² Unfortunately, no programme for the altarpiece survives, as this would have offered an opportunity for studying the ways in which Moretto adapted established visual motives to a new subject. The choice of the subject can be explained, however, as particularly topical for the Brescian Canons.

The canvas honours Lorenzo Giustiniani, one of the founding members of the Congregation who became the first patriarch of Venice in 1451. As one of the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga, Giustiniani had led an ascetic life of scholarship and meditation, yet despite his hermetic preferences, he would intersperse

⁵¹ Guazzoni (1988): 267.

periods of his spiritual life with spells of active political service for the benefit of the Venetian republic and the Pope. Even during his life time Giustiniani was venerated as a man of outstanding sanctity and austerity, yet official recognition of his cult was slow, only gathering pace in the sixteenth-century. On 19th July 1524 Pope Clement VII authorised Giustiniani's cult as bishop-confessor, and in 1588, it was Sixtus V who declared Lorenzo Giustiniani a *Beato*. The process of canonisation took another-century to complete and Giustiniani was finally canonised by Pope Alexander VIII in 1690.⁵³

Within one year of the official sanction of the cult of Lorenzo Giustiniani in 1524, altarpieces dedicated to his memory were produced for churches belonging to San Giorgio in Alga. What is of particular interest in these images with reference to the theme of the fashioning of a visual identity for the Congregation is the way in which not only the personal appearance of Lorenzo Giustiniani was recorded, but also how the spiritual concerns of the founder of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga came to be commemorated.

One of the few examples still extant is Pordenone's splendid altarpiece of the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani with St. John the Baptist, St. Louis of Toulouse, San Bernardino of Siena, St. Francis, and two secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga from 1532.⁵⁴ While the altarpiece was ostensibly commissioned by Federigo Venier for his recently acquired family chapel (1528), it was in fact the prior of the Madonna dell'Orto, Pietro Marin, who acted as the donor's executor.⁵⁵ This was the third altarpiece depicting Lorenzo Giustiniani there: in 1523 Girolamo da Santacroce had completed a painting, now lost, of Giustiniani and the altarpiece

⁵² Begni Redona (1988): 462-465; Dell'Acqua (1988): 171-174.

⁵³ Niero (1961): 31; Douglas-Scott (1988): 674, n.16.

⁵⁴ Douglas-Scott (1988): 672-679.

⁵⁵ Douglas-Scott (1988): 677.

by Palma il Vecchio for the Valier Chapel included him together with Eugenius IV. Lorenzo Giustiniani, like other members of the Giustiniani family, was buried in the Madonna dell'Orto, which explains the special devotion to the saint in the Venetian church.⁵⁶ Jacopo Bellini is said to have executed an effigy for his tomb.⁵⁷ However, the first surviving image of the *Beato* is that commissioned from Gentile Bellini in 1464, now in the Accademia, depicting Giustiniani in profile. Gentile Bellini's painting became the prototype for all later representations of Lorenzo Giustiniani, such as the later Pordenone altarpiece, and it is interesting to note Giustiniani's powerful gestures in both images.⁵⁸ While he never became a popular preacher in real life and instead excelled as administrator, scholar-writer and mystic' he is depicted in the role of teacher and preacher in both images.⁵⁹ The particular popularity of Lorenzo Giustiniani in the Madonna dell'Orto can partially be explained by the fact that his burial place was in the church but furthermore it is also important to remember that Giustiniani himself had been instrumental in the acquisition of the building by the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga.⁶⁰ The local cult of Lorenzo Giustiniani at the Madonna dell'Orto in Venice, however, was not representative of the visual politics of the Congregation as a whole. In its other houses, the emphasis was less on the figure of Giustiniani than on the celebration and promotion of the spiritual ideals adhered to by the Congregation in the aftermath of the Reformation.

⁵⁶ Gleason (1993): 3, n.10.

⁵⁷ See Humfrey (1993): 95.

⁵⁸ Another example of depictions of Lorenzo Giustiniani in churches of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga, is Girolamo dai Libri's (1474-1555) Virgin and Child Enthroned with St. Zeno and the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani from 1526, for the church of San Giorgio in Braida in Verona. See Trecca (1930); Brenzoni (1934): 108-109.

⁵⁹ Douglas-Scott (1988):674.

⁶⁰ The Congregation had acquired the church and monastery in 1462. Giustiniani had exhorted the Canons to remember him in their devotion. His status as venerated founder and 'holy man' was intimately bound up with the reputation for sanctity of the Congregation. The Madonna

The development of a visual identity for the Congregation different from that projected at the Madonna dell'Orto can be examined through the Brescian works discussed in this chapter. In The Virgin and Child in Glory, with St. John the Evangelist, the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani, and the allegory of Divine Wisdom for San Pietro in Oliveto, Moretto prominently includes Lorenzo Giustiniani but he has here become associated not with the preaching but with the devotional tradition of the Congregation. Whereas the Venetian depictions of Lorenzo Giustiniani in the Madonna dell'Orto show him as the energetic preacher, Moretto has depicted him here as the scholar-writer and mystic. To what extent this change of iconography rested with the painter or the patron remains unclear in the absence of documentary evidence. What is clear, though, is the unusual nature of the subject. There are no known precedents for the depiction of Giustiniani in the presence of Divine Wisdom, even within the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga. It can be presumed, though, that the image was intended as a 'mission statement' for the new seat of the Prior-General of the Congregation, and indeed, the highly unusual and very complex imagery of the altarpiece yields some interesting results and shows some revealing references to its Brescian location.

Moretto has placed the youthful figure of Divine Wisdom to the right of the seated Giustiniani. The moment depicted is Giustiniani's famous vision of the beautiful figure of Divine Wisdom, related in his autobiographical Fasciculus Amoris. In chapter 16, Giustiniani wrote how Divine Wisdom chided him for his inability to embrace religious studies wholeheartedly:

dell'Orto also became closely associated with the patronage of other members of the Giustiniani

"o giovane, perchè non riversi il tuo cuore nel mio e mi ami? Ciò che cerchi è in me, ciò che desideri te lo presento, te l'offro, a patto che tu mi voglia per sposa". Il mio cuore al suo parlare si liquefece, il suo amore mi trafisse, desideravo conoscere il suo nome, la sua dignità. Ella soggiunse che si chiamava ed era la Sapienza di Dio, quella stessa che nella pienezze dei tempi aveva preso forma per la riconciliazione dell'uomo.⁶¹

Giustiniani's encounter with Divine Wisdom, and his subsequent resolution to be guided and directed by her as God's messenger whose presence was an indication of the need of humanity for guidance in troubled times is made clear in Moretto's altarpiece. Lorenzo Giustiniani holds an open book on his knees in which he writes the words taught to him by Divine Wisdom (fig.40). Indeed, the opening lines of his book are clearly visible and read (in translation): 'wherefore I prayed and understanding was given me. I learned diligently and do communicate her liberally; I do not hide her riches; for the light that cometh from her never goeth out.'⁶² These verses are taken from the Wisdom of Solomon and the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga would have recognised the book Giustiniani is in the process of writing as his Della Vita Monastica which set the spiritual guidelines adhered to by the Congregation.⁶³

However in Moretto's altarpiece Divine Wisdom diverts Giustiniani's attention from the study of his books to the vision of the Virgin above. Her action serves as a reminder that knowledge of divine mysteries will not spring from the study of the Scriptures alone, but studies need to be supplemented by meditation

family. See Gleason (1993): 3, n.10.

⁶¹ Begni Redona (1988): 465.

⁶² 'Venit in me spiritus sapientiae, quam sine fictio/ne didicit et sine invidia communcio. Honestatem/illius non abscondo et inextinguibile est lumen illius'.

⁶³ The verses are taken from chapter 7 of the Wisdom of Solomon, and spliced together from verses 7 (a; b in the Stuttgart numbering), 13 and 10 (b).

and contemplation. Both the study of the scriptures and meditation are key elements of the spirituality embodied by Lorenzo Giustiniani which were followed by the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga. This reading is confirmed by the representation of St. John the Evangelist on the left of Lorenzo Giustiniani, who is depicted, unusually, as the old and beardless author of St. John's Gospel and the Book of Revelation. The unique iconography of the Lorenzo Giustiniani and Divine Wisdom refers back to the origins of San Giorgio in Alga in the fifteenth-century when the Congregation was concerned with reforms of a church which had become lax and sadly deficient in its spiritual fervour. Moretto's altarpiece for the altar of Lorenzo Giustiniani in San Pietro in Oliveto in Brescia served as a visual reminder to the Canons of the church that the situation of the Church had not significantly changed since the foundation of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga in the fifteenth-century. On the contrary, the Church was still as much, and even more, in need of reforms than at the time of Lorenzo Giustiniani.

Moretto's second commission for the church of San Pietro in Oliveto was the high-altarpiece. Again, the subject-matter chosen for the canvas was very specific to the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga, and it combined an expression of their special devotion to the Virgin Mary with their firm support of the Papacy. The Trinity crowning the Virgin, with Sts. Peter and Paul and the Allegories of Justice and Peace (fig.41) was painted between 1545 and 1550.⁶⁴ Moretto used here one of his favourite compositional devices: he based the composition of the Trinity crowning the Virgin for San Pietro in Oliveto on the earlier altarpiece for San Niccola in Rodengo (see discussion above). One of the most striking aspects of the altarpiece is the introduction of two allegories, Peace and Justice, into the

⁶⁴ Begni Redona (1988): 498-501.

presence of the saints, which is an unusual and novel grouping, for which there is no visual precedent in contemporary Brescian art.⁶⁵ Saints Peter and Paul frame the two female allegories: Peace is shown as a matronly figure embracing Justice, who has discarded part of her armour. Moretto repeats and balances the colours of red, blue and yellowish-brown in their garments. He also uses colour to associate Peter with Peace, dressed in a robe the same yellowish colour as his cloak, and Paul with Justice, who both wear red. Both Peace and Justice are familiar figures in the work of Moretto: their type of female beauty is easily recognisable in other works by the painter, who showed a strong preference for elegant female figures, with plain, oval faces framed by elaborately plaited, golden hair.

Above Saints Peter and Paul hovers the figure of an angel, handing down to them the familiar attributes from the Rodengo altarpiece, the keys for St. Peter, and a carved tablet for St. Paul, bearing the inscription 'FACTVS ES/ EVANGELICA/ TVBA' (fig.42). The inscription on the tablet is clearly legible and serves as another reminder of the text-oriented and calm religiosity of the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga. As with the altarpiece of the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani above, Moretto here fashions an identity for the Congregation as an orthodox and word-based religious order. Like the Book of Doctrine of the Rodengo altarpiece, the inscription carved into the table declares the truth of the gospels as literally carved in stone.

At the same time as asserting the validity of the canonical scriptures, Moretto also emphasises the devotion of the Congregation to the Virgin Mary in

⁶⁵ I am grateful to Mary Rogers for her suggestion to examine the links between Moretto's allegories in the presence of saints and contemporary Venetian political imagery. The Venetian tradition of associating Venetia with Justice, and Peace with St. Mark was well established and could have furnished Moretto with a motif to adapt to this particular commission.

the depiction of her Coronation in the upper half of the altarpiece. This was a particularly popular and traditional subject for high altars. In the representation of the 'Coronation of the Virgin', the emphasis was placed on the role of the Virgin as the prime intercessor on behalf of the suffering and sinful mankind. Moretto, for the high altar of San Pietro in Oliveto, thus created a unique visual summary of the teaching of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga. Based on their foundation in the fifteenth-century, the Congregation adhered to its original precepts of unquestioning belief in the authority of the Papacy and the validity of the scriptures. At the same time, the spiritual outlook of the Congregation was a devotional and contemplative one and it emphasised the importance of the Virgin Mary as intercessor despite and perhaps because of the Protestant challenges to the orthodoxy of Catholic beliefs. The inclusion of the Virgin Mary in both of the altarpieces for San Pietro in Oliveto is a strong reminder of the polemical nature of Marian imagery in the 1540s.

The calm and undramatic manner in which Moretto has chosen to depict complex imagery raises the question of the audience he was aiming to address. In stark contrast to the images executed by Pordenone and Palma il Vecchio for the Venetian church of the Madonna dell'Orto, the imagery for the Brescian house of San Pietro in Oliveto is less extrovert and more restrained. One explanation for this can be found in the original location of these altarpieces. The works for the Madonna dell'Orto were for the nave of the church and were thus easily visible for all visitors. The Brescian paintings, however, were placed behind the screen in the apse of San Pietro, with the members of the Congregation forming their primary audience. The visual language Moretto fashioned there, in a style which

clearly and calmly communicated orthodox doctrines, was well adapted to preaching to the converted.

The anti-heretical stance of the Congregation found further expression in the third commission Moretto executed for them, the set of organ shutters with the Story of Simon Magus (figs. 43; 44) on the inside, and Saints Peter and Paul supporting the edifice of the Church (fig.45) on the outside.⁶⁶ Produced by Moretto and his workshop between 1545 and 1550, they are the last works of Moretto for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga and, as such, are also his most elaborate celebration of the Church as an institution. The imagery of the shutters reinforced and clarified the message already conveyed by the two earlier altarpieces. The two scenes from the life of Simon Magus, the Flight of Simon Magus and the Fall of Simon Magus, refer to the first heretic of patristic writings.⁶⁷ Simon was a magician who wanted to buy the thaumaturgic powers of the apostles for money. The story is related in the Golden Legend as well as the apocryphal Acta Petri and tells how Simon Magus had found favour in Rome with the Emperor Nero because of his magical powers. In particular, Simon could fly, carried by demons, which is the scene represented in Moretto's Flight of Simon Magus (fig.43). He depicts the magician on top of a wooden tower, about to be carried into the air by some dark forces, while at the bottom of the tower the Senator Marcellus, once a converted Christian then led astray by Simon, reconverts to Christianity. Moretto employed one of his favourite compositional devices of splitting the canvas into an upper and a lower half, with each half of the canvas relating a different moment of the story. The second canvas repeats the same device: again, there is an upper half, where the falling Simon can be

⁶⁶ Begni Redona (1988): 480-487; Dell'Acqua (1988): 177-179; Guazzoni (1981): 47-48.

seen, and there is a lower half, occupied by a group of onlookers placed in the forecourt of a barrel-vaulted church. In the Fall of Simon Magus (fig.44). Simon had succeeded in becoming air-borne, but the prayer of St. Peter had chased the demons away, who then dropped the magician. Guazzoni interprets the scene as an overt allegory of heresy:

il noto episodio degli apocrifi Acta Petri, interpretato nella letteratura patristica come archetipo di qualsiasi eresia, è adattato in questi anni alle circostanze storiche contemporanee: l'illusorio successo dell'eresia (il volo di Simone), fondato sull'inganno e sull'errore, non può che essere destinato a dissolversi rapidamente (la caduta).⁶⁸

The Fall of Simon Magus as a subject for a painting is rare before the Counter-Reformation (in fact, of 36 representations of the subject listed by Pigler, only seven precede the seventeenth-century) and it is interesting to note that Moretto's version is the only version to represent both the Flight and the Fall of Simon Magus.⁶⁹ The closest visual precedent for Moretto's Fall of Simon Magus is Pordenone's version of the subject, which he executed for Santa Maria Maggiore, the cathedral of Spilimbergo, in 1524.⁷⁰ Cohen interpreted the subject of the Fall of Simon Magus as a direct reference to Martin Luther: 'in the theme of Simon Magus, the first heretic of the church who was discredited and destroyed by St. Peter, there is a deliberate reference to Luther and the hope for the eventual defeat of his heresy by the papacy'.⁷¹ Again, the subject was

⁶⁷ Mead (1979. Reprint from the 1892 original).

⁶⁸ Guazzoni (1981): 48.

⁶⁹ Pigler (1974): 487-488.

⁷⁰ Cohen (1975): 93-96; Cohen (1996): 222-235.

⁷¹ Cohen (1975): 93-94; Guazzoni (1986): 23.

particularly apt for inclusion in a church of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga and the confirmation of the reading of the shutters as a statement directed against Lutheranism can be found on the reverse of the canvasses.

When closed, the organ shutters depict the scene of Saints Peter and Paul supporting the edifice of the Church (fig.45), a choice which recalls the high-altarpiece for San Pietro in Oliveto of the Trinity crowning the Virgin, with Sts. Peter and Paul and the Allegories of Justice and Peace (figs.41; 42) which Moretto worked on at the same time. Again, Saints Peter and Paul are represented as the pillars and cornerstones of the Church in an image which gives visual expression once more of the Congregation's unshakeable support of the papacy and the Church. The imagery of the shutters reinforced and clarified the message already conveyed by the two earlier altarpieces for the same church and the three works taken together share a series of preoccupations which make up and fashion a visual identity for the Congregation. Where the earlier altarpieces had been calm and undramatic in their depiction of subjects emphasising the calm, contemplative spirituality of the Congregation, the shutters convey a more dramatic and polemic message of adherence to the traditional, Catholic faith. Though aimed at the Canons themselves, the shutters were visible from the nave, and thus appealed to a wider audience.

Moretto's imagery served the promotion of a distinct spiritual corporate identity for the Congregation. His employment by the Congregation in the 1540s occurred during a decade when there was a need for the Congregation to assert its distinctiveness as a religious organisation in the light of competition from other congregations, religious orders and confraternities. At the same time, Moretto's images helped to invest the Congregation with a history and tradition of its own

and firmly established its claim of spiritual superiority over other religious orders, some of which were far older and more numerous than the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga. The smallness of the Congregation, which was largely limited to locations in Northern Italy, made it possible for the Canons to aim at an effect of visual unity within its houses, and the choice of Moretto as one of the artists who worked for the Congregation in the 1540s seems to reflect this decision.

One final addendum needs to be made: the visual identity Moretto had so successfully fashioned for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga throughout his period of association with them, was based on repetitive principles of composition, and made up of re-useable cartoons.⁷² After Moretto's death in 1554, the Congregation chose to employ some of Moretto's assistants, in particular Agostino Galeazzi and Luca Mombello, who continued to work in the same clear and narrative style that their master had worked in.⁷³ Moretto and his workshop had thus built up a large repertoire of stock figures which enabled the workshop to continue working in a 'Morettesque' style even after the death of the painter. Visual unity between earlier commissions executed by Moretto, and later commissions carried out by his workshop was thus guaranteed, and the identity Moretto had fashioned for the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga in the works for San Pietro in Oliveto was one which could be perpetuated even after Moretto's death.⁷⁴

⁷² This characteristic tendency of Moretto's late works has been noted by several scholars, and Gombosi in particular commented in 1943 that Moretto's mature style was largely determined by his practice of re-using individual figures of saints which he had employed in an earlier commission, for the composition of a different altarpiece. Gombosi (1943): 54 ff.

⁷³ Guazzoni (1988-89); Guazzoni (1988): 271.

⁷⁴ Guazzoni (1988-89): 171.

Chapter 4

Eucharistic Imagery I:

**Moretto, Romanino and the Chapel of the
Holy Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia.
1521-24.**

Introduction

In the previous chapters discussion has focussed on the fashioning of a Brescian visual identity with regard to corporate patronage extended towards Moretto and Romanino by the Congregations of San Giorgio in Alga and of Santa Giustina of Padua respectively. The fashioning of a Brescian identity has so far been examined predominantly through a focus on the patronage of corporate groups such as the Cassinese Congregation or the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga.

Another approach is possible, however, through a focus on the recurrence of identical motifs and subjects that were executed for a variety of patrons. In the next two chapters the focus of the discussion will shift from an examination of corporate patronage and their concerns with the projection of a visual identity to an analysis of several examples of paintings of Eucharistic subject matter.¹ Both Romanino and Moretto executed a number of works with such themes for a variety of Brescian patrons, corporate as well as individual. Indeed, it was in Brescia that important visual developments of the subject took place; these include subject matter (in the case of the motif of the Eucharistic Christ developed by Moretto, examined in Chapter Five) as well as artistic form. Alessandro Nova has argued that it was precisely this Eucharistic devotion of the Brescians that in itself begot new forms of artistic expression:

Il rinnovato interesse a Brescia e nella provincia per la devozione eucaristica fece emergere la richiesta di nuovi temi iconografici che a loro

volta implicareno l'adozione di complesse strutture decorative più indurre
alle diverse esigenze del culto.²

It is this hypothesis which will be tested in this chapter. Furthermore, in addition to the line of argument pursued so far in this thesis, that is the establishment of a visual identity as a politically motivated identity which distinguishes Brescia from its overlord Venice, the discussion now will need to include considerations of the particular nature of the spirituality in the town in the period preceding the Council of Trent. The question that arises in this context is whether the nature of this spirituality, if indeed it can be defined as a distinctive one, is a Counter Reformation spirituality.

Prior to further discussion, it will be necessary to establish a definition of the term Counter Reformation itself. In the most general sense, the term has been applied to the militant Catholic reaction to the Protestant challenge to its teaching and authority following the convocation of the Council of Trent. This led to the (still) decisive break between the Catholic and the Protestant churches, the foundation of a number of new religious orders and the establishment of new devotional trends.³ In art-historical usage, it is common practice to employ the term to describe religious art of the later sixteenth-century. Post-Tridentine developments of new visual motifs are well explored, and have been related to the decree on images from the final session of the Council on 3rd and 4th December 1563, and the resulting flood of publications discussing the proper use

¹ As Peter Humfrey has observed, the topicality of representations of Eucharistic subject matter in Italy during the 1520's and 1530's was directly related to the immediacy of the Lutheran challenge to the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Humfrey (1993): 72-76.

² Nova (1986): 71.

³ The literature on the Counter Reformation is extensive; good general introductions to the subject are provided by Dickens (1968); Evennett (1968); Fenlon (1972); Olin (ed. 1969); Olin (1969); Olin (1990); Ozment (1993).

of art for the decoration of sacred spaces.⁴ Application of the term to Pre-Tridentine art is much less common.

It is possible, though, as has been demonstrated by Cope, to assign the label Counter Reformation to works of art executed prior to 1545. Some works executed in that period are characterised by the same traits as have been apportioned to works of the second half of the sixteenth-century, that is affirmation of Catholic tenets of faith and combative attitudes towards the use of religious imagery. This refers in particular to the celebration of mass, the role of the priest during this ceremony and hence, the position of the institution of the Catholic Church in this practice. Another much debated point was the intercessory powers ascribed to the saints and the Virgin Mary. Cope argues that much of the work carried out for confraternities of the Holy Sacrament is of a polemic nature, and reaffirms controversial points of teaching. This manifested itself in patronage of, on the one hand, traditional subjects such as representations of the Virgin and Child with saints, or, as in the case of Moretto's Eucharistic Christ, the introduction of new motifs. Cope also suggested employing the term Counter Reformation in its theological definition of a reaction by the Catholic Church to the challenge of the Protestant Reformation. The term then becomes applicable to religious art of a specific thematic context instead of art defined by its date alone. In the course of this chapter, then, it will be necessary to establish a working definition for the term Counter Reformation with application to the discussion of trends in Brescian painting.

An important part in the manifestation of a distinctive religious climate in the early decades of the sixteenth-century was played by confraternities devoted

⁴ The best introduction to the topic is still Blunt (1962): chap VIII, 'The Council of Trent and

to the care of the Holy Sacrament, the *scuole del sacramento*. Indeed, these scuole have been interpreted as crucial for the definition of popular piety in the early decades of the sixteenth-century.⁵ Part of the role these confraternities played was the role of patrons of art. This was the focus of Cope's thesis on the decoration of Venetian chapels of the Sacrament. Cope emphasised the role of the Confraternities of the Sacrament in the establishment of an early Counter-Reformation iconography, yet this remains largely untested as to its manifestations on the *terra ferma*. In the case of Brescia, though, the opportunity of testing Cope's thesis arises in relation to the decoration of the chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the Augustinian church of San Giovanni Evangelista, executed by Moretto and Romanino between 1521 and 1524. For this seminal project which covered the lateral walls, as well as parts of the vault, Moretto and Romanino used canvasses as the support for the narratives of the lateral walls, not fresco. In choosing this support, they established a visual precedent for the decoration of Chapels of the Sacrament throughout the latter part of the sixteenth-century which flourished most notably in Venice, *La Serenissima*, herself.⁶ Within Brescia itself, the decoration of the Chapel of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista spawned further examples of the same type, for example the decoration of the Chapel of the Sacrament in the Duomo Vecchio, executed by Moretto and his workshop in the 1540s.⁷

Religious Art', 103-136.

⁵ On the functions of the Confraternities of the Sacrament see Hills (1983): 30-43. Also, on the foundation of Confraternities of the Sacrament in the Sixteenth-century, see Black (1989); on Milan, see Pope Pius XI, "The 'Schools' or Guilds of the Blessed Sacrament in Milan", Essays in History written between the years 1896- 1912, London, 1934, pp. 210- 39.

Useful is also Humfrey (1988): 401-23. Further references to Confraternities can be found in Montanari (1987) and Pullan (1971). Numerous references to *Scuole del Sacramento* can be found in Roncalli (1936).

⁶ See, for example, Hills (1983): 30-43; Worthen (1996): 707-732

⁷ Begni Redona (1988): 518-522.

One final point which supports the case for a detailed analysis of this particular project is that the commission in San Giovanni Evangelista is the only known undertaking where Moretto and Romanino collaborated as, arguably, equal partners over a period of several years. This affords a rare opportunity of considering the stylistic interdependence of the two painters. The Chapel of the Holy Sacrament thus brings together the two leading painters of Brescia in an ambitious project on an unprecedented scale, which furthermore was amongst the first large scale projects to be carried out after the end of the Wars of the League of Cambrai, and the *spianata* of the Brescian suburbs.⁸

⁸ On the *spianata* of Brescia, see the discussion in chapter 1.

The Decoration of the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia

The sheer scale of the commission was staggering: the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament responsible for the decoration commissioned a total of 22 canvasses to be added to the already existing decoration of the chapel. When the two painters received the commission in March 1521, the chapel was already equipped with an altarpiece, Bernardino Zenale's Deposition from 1504.⁹ Moretto's and Romanino's contributions were to be completed within three years, that is by March 1524. None of the paintings commissioned in 1521 was to replace the existing altarpiece; instead, they were to be placed on the lateral walls, and the vault of the chapel. Both painters were to share the work equally between them.

It needs to be emphasised at this point that the decision to decorate the walls with canvasses instead of the traditional frescoes was an unusual and innovative one. By 1521, it was still common to decorate the lateral walls of chapels with frescoes instead of employing canvasses. The seminal character of the chapel within the context of discussions of Brescian painting has long been recognised, but an examination of the chapel in its Brescian context, and with reference to its role in fashioning a Brescian identity, is still missing. It is this approach which will be attempted in this chapter.¹⁰

⁹ Zenale's altarpiece had been executed under the patronage of the previous owners of the chapel, the Patini family; the frame of the altarpiece, elaborately carved and gilded, was executed by Stefano Lamberti and bears the date 1509. On the Patini family and its donation of the chapel to the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament of San Giovanni Evangelista, see Faustini and Fenaroli (1881): 14.

¹⁰ For previous discussions of the chapel, see: Crowe and Cavallcasselle, History of Painting in North Italy, vol. II, 1871, pp. 381, 384-85; Fenaroli (1877): 209, 286; Longhi (1917): 104; Nicodemi (1925): 18, 89-102; Gombosi (1943): 22-32; Ferrari (1961): 31ff; Bosselli (1964); Kossoff (1965): 517; Cheney (1966): 107; Testori (1975); Gregori (1986): 13-16; Guazzoni, (1986): 24-25; Begni Redona (1988): 142-163; Bayer (1991): 154-162; Nova (1994a): 242-246.

The starting point for any discussion of the chapel and its decoration must be the recently rediscovered contract for the chapel.¹¹ On 21 March 1521, Francesco Ocanoni, the prior of the convent of San Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia¹² and several of the officers of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament based in the parish (Bartolomeo Fortilazi and Pace Lana, as well as the *massaro* of the confraternity, Antonio Taglietti) commissioned Romanino and Moretto to carry out the decoration of the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the left transept of the church.¹³ At the time, this commission was one of the most prestigious and most coveted artistic commissions in Brescia. The choice of Moretto and Romanino, who had previously not collaborated for a project of this scale and complexity, reflects both the esteem within which these two artists were held, as well as the need for speed of execution.¹⁴ As the task was to be completed by March 1524, one supposes that two artists were called in for the commission in order to maximise resources; Moretto and Romanino were the two painters with the most experience of large scale projects, and theirs were the only workshops large enough to cope with a task which required the delivery of 22 canvasses

¹¹ Previously the contract had only be known through Fenaroli's transcription of it in the Dizionario degli Artisti Bresciani, Brescia, 1877, 40-41.

¹² Popularly called *Scoppettini o Rocchettini*, of the Canons of San Salvatore, Brescia, belonging to the Regular Lateran Canons of the Augustinian Order.

¹³ See appendix. The contract was transcribed and published by Fenaroli (1877) (reprinted Bologna, 1971), and is preserved in Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo di Religione, Pergamene, cartella 80.

¹⁴ An interesting question at this point is why the confraternity commissioned paintings of the two artists instead of frescoes. Both artists had ample experience working in fresco, which, one assumes, would furthermore have been cheaper for the patrons than the 22 canvasses. It can be argued, though, that the choice of the confraternity was a deliberate one: executing frescoes in the chapel would have severely disrupted the activities of the confraternity. If the decoration of the chapel was commissioned as an expiatory act, to avert the prophesied flood of 1524, then the care of the sacrament was of tantamount importance, and the paintings had to be executed one at a time in the workshop of the artists.

This choice might have been expedient for the Confraternity of the Sacrament in Brescia in this particular situation; given the poor survival rate of fresco painting in Venice, and the expense of the alternative medium, mosaic, the appeal of this type of decoration to Venetian patrons is apparent. See discussion in Cope (1979).

within three years.¹⁵ Of particular importance is the inclusion of a clause in the contract which states that each canvas was to be evaluated and estimated separately after its completion. Despite the clause of the contract which gives the method of payment for the works, the total cost of the commission for the confraternity is not known.¹⁶ It should be kept in mind that this particular method of payment gave the patrons the maximum control over the imagery of the cycle as only the works accepted by the patrons would be paid for.¹⁷ Again, the specific sums involved are not mentioned in the documents which have come down to us, and neither is there any indication of the evaluation of individual works. Nova argues that this implies that, contrary to the opinion of most scholars, the decoration of the chapel was not completed within the three years allocated to the painters in the contract, but took much longer, possibly as long as two decades, to complete.¹⁸ This argument does appear to disregard the significance of the stipulated completion date for the canvasses, that is 1524.

The consideration behind the commission appears to have been twofold: there were firstly fears of heresy, directly linked to the dissemination of Martin Luther's 95 Theses, and secondly, the projected completion date for the

¹⁵ Moretto had collaborated with Floriano Feramola on projects such as the organ shutters for the cathedral, and is reported by Faino to have frescoed a chapel for the monastery of Santa Croce in 1514. Moretto is also reported to have worked on the frescoes for Cremona cathedral. Faino (1630-69): 160; Malaguzzi Valeri (1902): 120.

Romanino's experience in executing large scale decorations was even more extensive, and ranged from the works executed for Niccolò Orsini at Ghedi to his contributions to the decoration of the apse of Cremona cathedral. See Nova (1994a): 207-211; 233-235; Guazzoni and Voltini (1989): 33; 100-101. Neither artist, though, had previously worked on a comparable commission, where the decorative scheme was made up of canvasses.

¹⁶ References to the methods of payment can be found in Bosselli (1957): 204, and Nova (1994a): 242-246. Bosselli's article publishes an annotation to Fenaroli's *Dizionario* in which payments to the artists are recorded; however, no exact sum is given. Nova claims that Bosselli's annotation does not refer to a payment of the total of the costs of the commission, thus providing a definite date for the execution of the chapel, but refers only to a part payment. The method of payment is of crucial importance for the dating of the single images of the chapel, yet the documentary evidence is far from conclusive.

¹⁷ On the financial dealings of artists and their patrons, see Glasser (1968); O'Malley (1994).

¹⁸ Nova (1994a): 242.

commission coincided with fears of an impending end of the world and the Second Coming of Christ. The year 1500 sparked off discussions of the proximity of the end of the world, and expectations of the Second Coming of Christ not unlike the hysteria marking the year 1000. Or 2000, for that matter. Expectations of a big change in the course of the world were rife, and two prophecies in particular had gained widespread currency at the beginning of the sixteenth-century. One of the prophecies referred to a monk who was to shake and upset Christian consciousness, and the second one to a deluge expected to occur in the spring of 1524.¹⁹

The prediction of the flood was first published in the Ephemerides of Johann Stöfler in 1499 (reprinted in Venice in 1522), and generated widespread fear and panic.²⁰ Niccoli, who has examined this phenomenon in her study of Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy, argues a link between an upsurge in devotion and the dissemination of Protestant ideas: 'the episode of the universal deluge expected in 1524 provided an excellent opportunity to identify the feared catastrophic flood with God's castigation for the Lutheran heresy', an observation

¹⁹ The first prophecy, of the monk who shakes and upsets Christianity, has often been interpreted as a reference to Martin Luther. It is possible, though, to relate the prophecy to Girolamo Savonarola, Savonarola, especially after his martyrdom in Florence, came to be regarded in Lombardy almost as a saint; his memory was kept alive in Brescia, 'era tenuta viva in particolare nella cerchia dei Gambari a Verola, in stretto relazione coi domenicani del capoluogo'. Guazzoni (1981): 19. Girolamo Savonarola is known to have preached in Brescia on the Apocalypse in 1489. Following his death in 1498, Savonarola was considered a saint and martyr in Lombardy. Testimony of the importance of Savonarola for Brescia is a portrait of a monk in a black cloak, traditionally thought to be a portrait of the Dominican, which was executed by Moretto in 1524; Portrait of Girolamo Savonarola, oil on canvas, cm 74x66. Verona, Museo Civico di Castelvecchio (inv. n.287). On the providence of the painting, see Begni Redona (1988): 182-184. An excellent survey of anti-Lutheran prophecies is provided by Niccoli (1990): 121-139, esp. 134-136.

²⁰ That year was an important astrological year, with no less than twenty planetary conjunctions expected, sixteen of which were to occur in the sign of the fish. The most significant of these stellar conjunctions was the one of Saturn and Jupiter. The conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter is an extremely rare conjunction which only appears every 960 years, a so-called 'great conjunction', accompanied by a wave of natural disasters: Saturn was said to bring great misfortune to the state and to the church; and in conjunction with Jupiter this was expected to be a premonition of war and disease. Johann Stöfler, Almanach nova plurimis annis venturis inservientia, Basel, 1499.

borne out by Marin Sanudo who wrote that 'the whole land is inclined to devotion for fear of these floods'.²¹ One of the expressions of this devotion in Brescia was the staging of numerous processions, such as the one (from 1524) described below:

tre zorni procession intorno alla terra con portar il corpo di Cristo, et una croce che i brexani hanno grande opinion, con el vescovo, qual ha cantato messa grande in domo, e tutte le scuole e arte, frati, preti sono stati alla processione, tutto per placar l'ira di Dio di questi diluvi si dice sarà questo Fevver [...].²²

Through his mention of one of Brescia's most sacred relics, the fragment of the Holy Cross given by Duke Namo of Bavaria in 806, 'una croce che i brexiani hanno grande opinion', Sanudo refers to the special Eucharistic fervour of the population. The cross was in the guardianship of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament of the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia, one of whose officers was Moretto. It can then be argued that the decoration for the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista was conceived in this very same spirit of an expectation of God's punishment, and as an attempt to avert the expected catastrophe through acts of piety. This argument complies with Sanudo's contemporary description, 'tutto per placar l'ira di Dio', and fits within the context of an increased Eucharistic fervour at the time, commented on by Peter Humfrey.²³ This is confirmed by the details of the commission for the Chapel of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista. Closer examination of the subject

²¹ Niccoli (1989): 134-135; Sanudo, M., *Diarii*, vol. 35, col.332.

²² From a letter by Antonio Sanudo, written in Brescia, to his brother Marino, quoted in Begni Redona (1988): 184.

²³ See note 1.

matter of the paintings for the chapel reveals an emphasis on penance which was a particularly fitting subject in the light of an expected catastrophe.²⁴

One parallel to Brescian concerns with penance as a means to avert the feared catastrophe of a diluvian flood, was the situation in Florence during the tense months following the death of Lorenzo de' Medici. One only needs to recall Savonarola's pleas in the Florence of the 1490s for penance as a means to prevent a political catastrophe to give credence to the Brescian concern with penance. On 13 January 1495 Savonarola preached his famous sermon On the Renovation of the Church where he described his vision of the sword:

I saw a sword poised over Italy, and it was quivering; and I saw angels who were coming and who held the red cross in one hand, and they held in the other hand a chalice full to the top of sweet and good wine, but at the bottom there was a residue more bitter than gall [...] Suddenly I saw the sword, which was quivering about Italy, turn its tip downwards and with great violence and calamity strike among them, and it scourged everyone.²⁵

The only means to avert this catastrophe was penance. Savonarola pleaded to 'do penance while the sword is not out of its sheath, and while it is not stained with blood!'.²⁶

Through the decoration of the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista that Moretto and Romanino established an important precedent for the proliferation of imagery used for the decoration of Chapels of the Sacrament throughout the Sixteenth-Century in the Venetian *terra ferma* and

²⁴ See Reeves (1984): 107-134.

²⁵ Olin (ed. 1969): 9-10.

²⁶ Olin (ed. 1969): 15.

Venice itself.²⁷ The actual cycle of paintings is made up of twelve canvasses in the soffits of the arches of the bays of the lateral walls (depicting prophets), representations of the four evangelists on the projections of the walls of the lateral bays, and six narrative paintings for the lateral walls of the chapel. The work was equally divided between the painters, that is Moretto executed six prophets, two evangelists and the three paintings on the right wall of the chapel, whereas Romanino was responsible for the scenes on the left wall of the chapel and the remaining representations of prophets and evangelists.

The focus of the chapel, though, remains Bernardino Zenale's altarpiece of the Deposition of Christ from 1504. The elaborate, carved and gilded frame bears the prominent date 1509. Stylistic evidence suggests that the date refers to Lamberti's frame rather than the altarpiece which had to be cut down at the base to fit the dimensions of the frame.²⁸ This argument is confirmed by consideration of the patronage rights to the chapel. According to Stefano Fenaroli, the Patini family left a chapel in San Giovanni Evangelista to the Confraternity of the Sacrament on 29 January 1505.²⁹ It seems likely that the first act of artistic patronage of the Confraternity was to give Zenale's altarpiece a new and more suitable frame; the act of donation of the chapel to the confraternity being the date *post quem* for the altarpiece. Reflections on whether the commission of the new frame for Zenale's altarpiece was only the beginning of an attempt at a co-ordination of the decorative programme of the chapel in the first decade of the

²⁷ For the most complete survey of Venetian Chapels of the Sacrament in the Sixteenth-Century, see Cope (1979).

²⁸ Fenaroli states that the contract for Lamberti's frame was signed on 13 February 1509, and followed a drawing which had been approved of by the overseers, relating to a drawing by Giacomo del Maino. See Bayer (1988): 247. Fenaroli (1877): 279-280.

²⁹ Faustini and Fenaroli (1881): 14. Also, for a summary, see Nova (1994a): 242. Fenaroli, incidentally, was the overseer of the restorations of the chapel, and was furthermore the Brescian correspondent of Crowe and Cavallcaselle.

Cinquecento are futile because Brescia's subsequent experiences in the Wars of the League of Cambrai put an end to major artistic commissions.

Zenale's emphasis on the Eucharistic body of Christ, the *Corpus Christi* is taken up by Lamberti's lunette of the frame which represents a carved and gilded Pelican tearing into her chest to feed her offspring, the traditional symbol of God's sacrifice of His own son for the salvation of mankind.³⁰ The frame further supports the Eucharistic theme of the altarpiece in its predella where Lamberti has depicted the Last Supper. What is startling about the frame is the way in which Lamberti recalls the massive, winged altars, or *Flügelaltäre* popular during this period North of the Alps in the narratives carved into the lunette and the predella of the frame.³¹ The Northern reference here is one of the few tangible examples still left which reflects the traditionally strong Northern links of Brescia. Examples of winged altars were lost in a late fifteenth-century move towards the adoption of the unified Venetian *pala*.³² At the same time, with the renewed emphasis on its classical past, Renaissance models came to be more easily adopted than the previously fashionable Gothic ones.³³

The most immediate precedent for the Chapel of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista also employed paintings for the lateral walls, albeit on a much smaller scale. The reference here is to the Passion Cycle illustrated by Bernardino Luini for the *Compania del Corpo di Cristo* of the church of San

³⁰ The carved lunette replaced in 1882 the lost original lunette, also depicting a Pelican and her offspring. See Bayer (1988): 248.

³¹ On the winged altarpiece, see Decker (1990): 90-105; Evans (1990): 106-128; Harbison (1990): 49-75. On Michael Pacher, Michael Pacher und sein Kreis, exhib. cat., Bozen, 1998, pp. 49-80.

³² Nova (1986): 72-73. Brescia had traditionally strong links with sculpture workshops in Trent. Examples of sculptures survive in the Museo Diocesano in Trent.

³³ On Brescia's classical heritage, see chapter 1. The popularity of *all'antica* models is attested to by the building and decoration of the church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli. Building started in 1488, and much of the exterior was based on the model of a classical temple. Sculptors working

Giorgio in Palazzo in Milan in 1517.³⁴ The Chapel of the Sacrament for San Giorgio in Palazzo was possibly the earliest Italian example of a co-ordination of a pictorial programme of panel paintings which covered the lateral walls. The Chapel of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista, executed from 1521 onwards, employed canvasses for the lateral walls, with the patrons of the chapel devising a programme of surprising complexity and sophistication. In fact, all available wall space in the chapel is taken up by canvasses in the same way as a fresco decoration would have worked.

The programme of the chapel hinges on the distribution of Old Testament and New Testament scenes, and can be read across the chapel, with each wall complementing the imagery opposite. Each wall in itself also represents a separate theme; in the case of Moretto's right wall the topic of 'Divine Feeding' is addressed, while Romanino's left wall is dedicated to the memory of the Magdalen, and arguably, a contemporary Brescian Magdalen, Maddalena Migliorati.³⁵ The narrative concept of juxtaposing Old and New Testament scenes is, however, not typological in the strict sense of the term, such as one would find in the Biblia Pauperum and the Speculum Humanae Salvationis, as the Old and New Testament scenes illustrated by Moretto and Romanino do not correspond

on the façade for Santa Maria dei Miracoli were also employed on the Palazzo del Loggia, and included Gasparo Coirano and Antonio della Porta. Lucchesi Ragni (1998): 52-53.

³⁴ The Passion cycle, comprising of a frescoed vault with the 'Crucifixion', in the centre; on either side of the Cross is a flying banner with some device on it, possibly the device of the confraternity?. On the left of the 'Crucifixion' is the depiction of the 'Swooning Virgin', the 'Casting the lot for Christ's Clothes' is placed on the right of the 'Crucifixion'. The vault is executed in fresco, but the (extremely shallow) space of the chapel itself is taken up by (on the left) the 'Flagellation', in the centre the 'Deposition of Christ', and on the right the 'Ecce Homo'. In the lunette above the 'Deposition' Luini depicted the 'Mocking of Christ'. The commission was given by Luca Terzago, documents relating to payments made to Luini in 1516 still exist. The dimensions of the panels are: Crowning with Thorns (lunette): cm 214x5x106; Flagellation (left): cm 118x258x178; Deposition (centre): cm 209x178; Ecce Homo (right): cm 116.5x258x178. Luini's Passion cycle is placed in the third chapel on the right in San Giorgio Palazzo, Milan. On Luini, see Williamson (1899); Ottino della Chiesa (1956): 108-109.

³⁵ The suggestion was first put forward by Cope (1979): 234.

to each other.³⁶ Instead, the sequence of the images moves from the Old Testament to the New, to culminate in the representation of a contemporary Eucharistic vision in the lunette of the left wall. The purpose of the programme is thus didactic, and expressive of the ideals and concerns of its patrons, the Confraternity of the Holy Sacraments.

The 22 canvasses commissioned of Romanino and Moretto cover the two lateral walls, the side walls, and part of the vaults. The natural starting point for a consideration of the programme of the chapel is the right wall which depicts a progression from the two Old Testament scenes of Elijah and the Angel (fig.46) and the Gathering of Manna (fig.47) to the New Testament scene of the Last Supper (fig.48) in the lunette. These images are flanked by representations of Sts. Mark and Luke, and surmounted by the six prophets David, Jeremiah, Daniel, Haggai, Micah and Hoseah. All six prophets carry scrolls with clearly legible inscriptions.³⁷ While the prophets carry scrolls with inscriptions (fig.49), the evangelists are depicted in the process of writing down the gospels (fig.50). The prophecies of the Old Testament find their resolution in the events of the New Testament, and this is being recorded by the evangelists as witnesses. The validity of the prophecies of the Old Testament is thus confirmed by the chroniclers testifying to the events of Christ's life. The prophets are depicted half-length, and against a blue sky with clouds, whereas the full-length evangelists are firmly located within the context of their studies. The narrative framed by these

³⁶ See also Lewine (1993); Ettlinger (1965); Ehresmann (1982): 359-369.

³⁷ The inscriptions read as follows: David: 'adorabunt eum omnes reges terrae:/ omnes gentes servient ei' (Ps 71,11); Jeremiah: 'ecce deus nosster: et non esstimabitur alius ad allus' (inscription is not biblical; possibly from the prophecies of jeremiah); Daniel: 'cum venerit sanctus sanctorus/cessabit untio vestra' (based on Daniel 9, 24); Haggai: 'ecce ego commovebo coelum et terram et / veniet desideratus cuntius gentibus:' (Haggai 2,8a); Micah: 'egressio eius principio' a diebus aeternitatis.' (Micah 5,2c); Hoseah: 'sedebut fili israel sine rege. sine pricip[c sine] sacrificio' (Hoseah 3,4).

devices becomes a meta-narrative where links are established across the chapel between both walls, across time periods in that the contemporary viewers, the prophets and evangelists all share the same words and events, and across the church, where the Chapel of the Sacrament is placed in the left transept, *in cornu evangelii*, and with a view to the High Altar.

Morettos' Elijah and the Angel (fig.46) opens the narrative sequence of the right wall, and is placed at the bottom left. Elijah's muscular figure is sprawled across the foreground of the image, with bread and water placed next to him. Behind him, the lithe figure of a blond angel can be seen, trying to rouse the sleeping prophet. The scene itself is set against a fantastic landscape which recalls Patenir's compositions. The spaciousness of the scene contrasts starkly with its crowded, and claustrophobic pendant, the Gathering of Manna (fig.47).

The subject matter of 'Elijah and the Angel' is taken from I Kings 19,5ff where the encounter between Elijah and the Angel is described in the following terms:

then [Elijah] lay down under a tree and fell asleep. All at once an angel touched him and said: "Get up and eat". He looked around, and there by his head was a cake of bread baked over hot coals, and a jar of water. He ate and drank and then lay down again. The angel of the Lord came back a second time, and touched him and said, "Get up and eat, for the journey is too much for you". So he got up and ate and drank. Strengthened by that food, he travelled for forty nights until he reached Horeb, the mountain of God.

In Moretto's rendition of the story, the biblical account is faithfully translated, with the exception though of replacing the lowly jar of the story with a splendid glass amphora. Horeb, the mountain of God, is represented as a semi-

transparent apparition in the far distance, dwarfed in comparison by the semi-nude, muscular figure of Elijah who is brought forward to the very edge of the image. God has sent His angel to strengthen Elijah, because without His assistance, 'the journey is too much for you'. The means of divine assistance extended to the tired and exhausted prophet is *pane coeli* which is available to the faithful in the form of the Eucharist.

The significance of this story as an allegory of the reception of the Eucharist was recognised by, amongst others, Thomas Aquinas, who used it for his office for the feast day of Corpus Christi, but more significant in this context was the explanation offered by the Brescian Dominican Gabriele da Barletta in his Sermones Quadragesimales. Sulla necessità del Sacramento which was first published in 1498, yet reprinted in Brescia in 1521. Barletta wrote:

Quis est iste Helias? Est homo qui per viam huius mundi it, et premitur curis huius mundi. Melanconia de filis, de honoribus, de vitiis, ne eat ad hospitale. Quo sic fesso, opus detur ei panis sacramentalis. Quo reficiato, possit ire ad montem paradisi. De quo Pane Joan 8: Panis quem ego dabo caro mea est, pro mundi vita.³⁸

Elijah has become Everyman, a symbol for mankind's need for God's assistance and guidance. The link between the Elijah and the Angel (fig.46) and the Gathering of Manna (fig.47), its pendant, is the visibility of the *pane coeli*, and God's act of charity in feeding the needy faithful. The relevance of this message to the activities of the confraternity who commissioned these images needs no further explanation. Gabriele da Barletta makes this implicit link between the two subjects even more apparent when he introduces a passage from

Dante, 'dà hoggi a noi la quotidiana manna senza la qual per questo aspro deserto/ in drieto va chi di più gir s'affanna'.³⁹ The feeding of the Israelites here serves as a prefiguration of the spiritual sustenance the faithful derive from the partaking of the Holy Communion; the promotion of a more frequent communion was amongst the main concerns of confraternities of the Holy Sacrament. The pairing of Elijah and the Angel and the Gathering of Manna was well established for commissions of Confraternities of the Holy Sacrament, as for example in the Last Supper Altarpiece (1464) for St. Pierre, Louvain, by Dieric Bouts.⁴⁰

In stark contrast to the Northern character of the Elijah and the Angel, the Gathering of Manna recalls Central Italian models, and in particular, Raphael. The standing woman at the very right of the image is painted from the back, turning her head towards us. Moretto has captured her face in a three-quarter profile view in a composition which recalls Raphael's St. Cecilia altarpiece from 1513 for Bologna. In her left hand, she holds a tablet of stone with the reference to the event in Exodus 21. On the left of the image Moretto has depicted a woman who is carrying a jug on her head. This woman again recalls Raphael; this time the reference is to the Fire in the Borgo from the Stanza d'Incendio (1515) in the Vatican.⁴¹ The Gathering of Manna shows the Israelites collecting manna into a variety of containers, from plates to aprons to baskets. A great multitude of figures is depicted, but apart from Moses and Aaron, everybody is

³⁸ Gabriele da Barletta (1498): edition in 1521 published by the Dominican Benedetto Britannico da Brescia.

³⁹ Dante. La Divina Commedia. Purgatorio, VI, 13-15. Also, Guazzoni (1986): 25.

⁴⁰ In 1464, for the 200th anniversary of the institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi, the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament of St. Pierre, Louvain, commissioned a triptych representing, on the central panel, a Last Supper, and Old Testament prefigurations of the Eucharist on the wings of Abraham and Melchizedek and the Gathering of Manna on the left, and Elijah and the Angel and the Paschal Lamb on the right. Dieric Bouts, exhib. cat., Brussels, 1957-58.

The 'Last Supper' is very rare as the subject of an altarpiece. It is more frequently employed as the subject for the decoration of a refectory, Gilbert (1974): 371-406; Lane (1984): 108.

intent on collecting manna. The two leaders stand on a small hillock, raised above their people, and are shown in the process of prayer. Again Moretto recalls Raphael: one of the two raises his arms in prayer to the heavens. The other figure points across the Israelites; the two figures and their respective gestures are modelled on Aristotle and Plato in Raphael's School of Athens from the Stanza della Segnatura (1510-11) in the Vatican.⁴² The Elijah and the Angel and the Gathering of Manna conclude the Old Testament sequence on the wall. In both cases, direct divine intervention in a special act as grace has been necessary to provide nourishment for God's chosen recipients of this act of charity.

However, the lunette introduces the culmination of God's charitable provision for mankind in the act of instituting the sacrament of the Eucharist. In stark contrast to the exceptional distributions of *pane coeli* in the two canvasses of the lower register, the Last Supper (fig.48) depicts the provision of the Eucharist for the benefit of mankind in the context of the Church, and the celebration of mass.

The starting point for Moretto's Last Supper is Leonardo's version of the subject in the refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Milan. In the same way as Leonardo, Moretto has arranged his apostles in groups of three, but the composition's symmetry is upset through the introduction of two additional figures. On the left hand side a richly dressed servant with a white sash across his chest reaches across St. John to pick up a glass carafe. This figure is balanced by a second standing servant, dressed in black and white, placed at the right end of the table. Again, the servant wears an identical white sash across his chest, and like the first servant, wears a hat or turban. Judas, dressed in his characteristic

⁴¹ Freedberg (1971): 69-71.

yellow robes, is seated with his back to the beholder, with his head turned towards the servant in black and white. The covered head marks the servant as a Jew, and Judas's turn towards him indicates where his sympathies lie, and what course of action he will take. Moretto draws attention to this subtle interplay between Judas and the servant by placing an apostle at the very left of the lunette, whose pose is in *contraposto* to the one of Judas. This placement of the apostle, the only person to directly engage the gaze of the beholder, emphasises the isolated role of Judas. Both men are seated on identical stools, yet the difference between them is as pronounced as the superficial similarities. The same tension is apparent in the foreground, where an alert, tabby cat is moving towards a distracted white dog. The cat, familiar symbol of darkness, lust and laziness, and the devil's familiar, is surprising the faithful dog in the same way as Judas's betrayal of Christ will astonish the other apostles.

One indication of the significance of the scene of the Last Supper is the fact that it repeats the subject of the predella of Lamberti's frame, and is the only scene to be represented twice in the chapel. Moretto's Last Supper differs significantly from Lamberti's version though in the precision of the moment depicted, and in the psychological tension with which the scene has been imbued. The importance of the motif is further emphasised as a celebration of the Eucharist also represents the topic of the left lunette, Romanino's Miracle of the Eucharist (fig.51).

The Last Supper emphatically confirms the importance of the institution of the sacrament of the Eucharist by Christ at the Last Supper. Thematically, Moretto's lunette concludes the narrative sequence of the right wall on 'Divine

⁴² Freedberg (1971): 53-58.

Feeding', at the same time as introducing the theme of 'penance' of Romanino's left wall. The right wall has established precedents for the spiritual feeding of the faithful in the Old Testament as an act of charity which culminates in the institution of the sacrament in the Last Supper.

One of the apostles deserves a closer look: on the very right hand side of the table, one of the apostles is shown supplicating, his gesture of arms outstretched mirroring that of Christ. The garb of this apostle furthermore differs from that of his fellows, in that he appears to wear a red chasuble over a white alb. The role of this onlooker seems clear: his clerical garb and gestures mark him out as a priest, who, after Christ's death, will re-enact the sacrament of the Eucharist in commemoration of Christ's sacrifice. This observation is further borne out by the care with which the face of this apostle has been rendered. Moretto has chosen (or has been told?) to place the apostle in the same position as the one occupied by Pope Julius II in Raphael's Mass of Bolsena. In both cases, then, the patron of the image has himself included as witness at a miraculous celebration of the mass, in the presence of Christ, and in the same position within the image. It seems likely that in emulation of Raphael's Mass of Bolsena, Moretto has included a contemporary portrait, and depicted one of the patrons of the chapel in the Last Supper.⁴³ The identification of this figure as a contemporary portrait may also be confirmed by the placing of the figure on the very right hand side of the image, in a position where he was best visible from within the chapel, from where the *banchi* of the confraternity were placed in the

⁴³ The only cleric named in the contract is Francesco Ocanoni, prior of the convent of San Giovanni Evangelista. In the absence of contemporary portraits of Ocanoni, though, any identification must remain speculative.

sixteenth-century. At the same time, the figure was largely obscured for the onlooker standing outside the entrance to the chapel.⁴⁴

What Moretto has been asked to give a visual expression to in the lunette is one of the tenets of Mass: in the celebration of the liturgical ritual, normally separate members of the mystical body of the Church are brought together in one moment of time (hence the inclusion of the contemporary witness). The celebration of the 'Last Supper' is relevant to members of the church past (as represented in the depiction of the historical witnesses, the apostles), present (introduced in the contemporary figure witnessing and re-enacting the celebration of the Eucharist) and future. In the celebration of the Eucharist the contemporary priest re-enacts a moment of history central to the spiritual well being of the community and the individual, providing the necessary spiritual food in the form of the species of the host. The community can look forward to the future messianic meal in communion with Christ, celebrating the sacrament in anticipation of the promise of a future life. At the same time, through the commemoration of Christ's command, the Confraternity can demonstrate its piety, and thus ask for God's clemency, ask for forgiveness, and having demonstrated their piety and penance, ask for mercy.

While universally valid, there is then one level of meaning to this iconography which underlines the Brescian context of this commission. The call for penance is particularly meaningful in the context of an expected catastrophe.

⁴⁴ It can be assumed that originally there would have been *banchi* along the lower walls of the chapel for the members of the confraternity to sit, yet any trace of this would have been lost after the 1881 restoration of the chapel. It was also customary to cover paintings, for liturgical reasons, as well as for protection against grime and dirt, as shows the example of the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia: 'I dipinti eucharistici della cappella del SS Sacramento del duomo eseguiti dal Moretto e disposti sopra i banchi della Scuola erano protetti da tele su cui erano rappresentati tabernacoli simbolici: come il tabernacolo dell'altare custodiva l'ostia consacrata, il corpo di Cristo.' Guerrini (1951): 50-51. Also Nova (1994c): 177-189.

as well as with reference to the most recent history of the town. More generally, it is possible to interpret this iconography as a reference and response to the Lutheran challenge to the validity of the sacrament of the Eucharist as a sacrifice. It has already been discussed that as early as 1517 there had been a response to the German Reformation in Romanino's altarpiece of the Virgin and Child Enthroned (fig.4) for San Francesco.⁴⁵ Brescia was early affected by threats of heresy, and the City Council was swift to issue legislation. A reference to the Protestant threat in the decoration of San Giovanni Evangelista is therefore possible and likely. Moretto's depiction of the Last Supper shows a contemporary witness in the Real Presence of Christ- the sacrament is thus depicted in accordance with the teachings of the Roman Catholic church, a point which is further elaborated through the red robes of the contemporary witness on the right hand side of the lunettes.

In contrast to the way in which Moretto's cool, clear light illuminates powerfully modelled figures set in an immaculately constructed space, the mood is different on the opposite wall. The even, steady light of Moretto leaves no doubt about the doctrinal clarity of the precepts presented on the wall, yet the brooding, evocative twilight of the canvasses on the left powerfully evokes a world of sin, of repentance for sinful actions and a setting for the mysteries of the faith. Where Moretto's figures are clearly delineated and carefully modelled, and set in the clear light of outdoor surroundings, Romanino's scenes take place either indoors, or at the crowded site of a tomb, with figures overlapping and merging into each other before dissolving into the background of the image. Romanino's brushwork is more distinctive than Moretto's careful handling of the

⁴⁵ See discussion on pp.17-18.

brush which seems to leave no traces of his handwriting on the canvas: Romanino is the instinctive painter, Moretto is the deliberating, rational artist working according to Florentine rules of *disegno*. The imagery and themes on either wall thus carefully responded to the artistic inclination of the painters, something which has been thoughtfully commented on by Guazzoni:

è da notare come l'intelaiatura dottrinale trovi nei pittori interpreti tutt'altro che passivi, attenti anzi a intonarvi, attraverso una meditata ripartizione dei temi, le personali inclinazioni espressive. Tocca infatti a Romanino trattare il tema del riscatto dal peccato attraverso gli episodi della "Resurrezione di Lazzaro" e della "Cena in casa del Fariseo", congeniali alla sua passionalità coinvolta e turbata; e a Moretto dar prova di elaborata cultura figurativa affrontando gli episodi preannuncianti l'eucarestia nell'Antico Testamento: "l'Elia e l'Angelo" e la "Caduta della manna".⁴⁶

The equal division of labour between the painters had been stipulated by the contract, but Moretto and Romanino did more than just dividing the work between them.⁴⁷ The two painters succeeded in establishing two very different walls, thematically as well as stylistically, with the wall on the left dominated by the guilt and gloom of sin, which can be overcome by penance, and the celebration of the Eucharist, and the right wall celebrating the sustenance and succour provided by God. There is a thematic reason for the stylistic divergence

⁴⁶ Guazzoni (1986): 24.

⁴⁷ The contract stipulates that the painters were to paint 'quadros in ea existentes partem a manet et partem a sero altaris', a division of the work which has traditionally been accepted. Romanino is thought to have executed the canvasses for the part 'a sera' of the altar of the chapel, that is on the left wall, the liturgical North of the chapel, while Moretto is thought to be responsible for the paintings on the right wall or liturgical South, of the chapel. The contract never specified which artist was to execute which part of the decoration. The contract also stipulates that Romanino and Moretto were to paint 'ipsam capellam et quadros, quilibet singulum quadrum dipingere cum illis

between the two painters: Moretto's wall teaches the onlooker about the means of salvation granted to mankind through God's grace. Romanino's wall, however, depicts the choice of mankind for availing themselves of this way to salvation. God has granted the means to salvation, but each individual has been given the freedom to choose between salvation and damnation. The message, though, is also a reassuring one. A demonstration of the efficacy of prayer and penance is offered in focussing on the example of a penitent sinner, St. Mary Magdalene.

In the same way as Moretto's wall was structured by a progression of the imagery from two Old Testament scenes on the lower wall, to a New Testament scene depicted in the lunette, the same pattern is followed on Romanino's right wall where the narrative proceeds from two New Testament scenes, of the Raising of Lazarus (fig.52) and the Supper in the House of the Pharisee (fig.53) to the lunette of the Miracle of the Eucharist (fig.51).

While one of the underlying themes of Romanino's wall is sin and penance, there is another thematic connection between the images. All three canvasses include a representation of Mary Magdalen, the archetypal Counter Reformation saint, and repentant prostitute and sanctified sinner.⁴⁵ Early Christian tradition conflates three women into her person, Mary of Bethany, sister of Martha and Lazarus, the unnamed sinner who anointed Christ's feet at the Supper at the House of the Pharisee and Mary called Magdalen, possessed by seven devils. Similarly, there are two Lazaruses mentioned in the Bible: the brother of Martha and Mary of Bethany, raised from the dead (John 11; 1-44) (as depicted in the Raising of Lazarus in the Chapel of the Sacrament in Brescia), and the leper Lazarus (Luke 16; 19-31) whose ulcers were healed after his death.

figuris et capitulis, prout ipsis pictoribus et cuilibet eorum data fuerit nota per spectabiles

In the first image on the left-hand wall, Romanino shows Lazarus with hands bound before Christ who beseeches the man who had been four days dead to come out of the tomb. Lazarus is mesmerised, and follows Christ's command without being aware of the throng of bystanders, whose expressions vary from ill-disguised disgust at the stench of Lazarus by holding their noses to flinging their arms wide open in gestures of astonishment.⁴⁹ Christ is the thaumaturge, and his healing and restorative power is the focus of the image; all eyes are on the scene of a resurrection of a dead man, who is reborn, spiritually as well as physically.⁵⁰

Lazarus, apart from being the familiar type of the Resurrection of Christ, as employed for example in the Biblia Pauperum, had also come to be regarded as a type of the purification by the Holy Spirit.⁵¹ His resurrection from death, his being freed from the bonds of death, was interpreted as analogous to the bonds of sin tying down mankind. Leprosy, the disease Lazarus was supposed to be suffering from, had come to be regarded as a metaphor of sin, and the act of healing was an example of the power of *Christus Medicus*. John Shearman's application of patristic writings to the interpretation of Raphael's cartoon of the 'Healing of the Leper' explains the act of healing as a figure of the sacrament of penance. Sin, like a disease, ostracises man in his social functions: the sinner is unclean and needs to be purified through the absolution given to him by the priest before the sinner can become part of the church again. Most importantly,

deputatos'. (see Appendix 2).

⁴⁸ See, for instance, the discussion in Goffen (1997): 171-192.

⁴⁹ The gestures here reflect the 'orans' position.

⁵⁰ The question of the relation of sickness, death and sin is made repeatedly in the Bible, most clearly in the epistle of St. James, 5:14 ff: 'Is one of you ill? Let him send for the elders of the church to pray over him and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord; the prayer offered in faith will heal the sick man, and if he has committed sins they will be forgiven. Therefore confess your sins to one another, that you may be healed'.

the sinner is unfit to take part in the sacramental life of the church. Thomas Aquinas uses the analogy of medicine for the remission of sin in the sacrament of penance. Both of these arguments can here be applied to the reading of the 'Raising of Lazarus'. Yet the interpretation of the scene does not stop here.

Another possibility of reading the theme of the 'Raising of Lazarus' has also been put forward by John Shearman who draws attention to the concern Pope Leo X expressed for the healing of the church and for the recovery of its peace and unity. A return to the acceptance of the traditional sacramental system of the church was perceived to be the way to reform weaknesses within the church and heal the schism which had opened up in 1520-1, following Luther's excommunication. The reading of the 'Raising of Lazarus' in terms of a warning against heresy, which is visualised in the putrefying effect of heretical beliefs on the body of the afflicted is a contemporary one, and relates Romanino's 'Raising of Lazarus' to the version of the same subject executed by Sebastiano del Piombo in Rome (for Cardinal Giulio de Medici, 1517-19).

Again, it is possible to draw local parallels. The theme of the effect and the manifestation of sin on the church itself, be it expressed in the frequently uttered criticisms on the sacrament of mass and its symbol, the transubstantiated body of Christ, be it in the lack of respect for the sacrament, was of particular topicality to Brescia. By the early 1520s, the impact of Luther's challenge to the Roman church became more clearly felt in Italy: by 1523, Lutheran tracts were sold in Northern Italy, and as early as 1524 papal briefs referred not only to the presence of Lutheran writings in Northern Italy, but particular attempts were

⁵¹ St. Bede, *Quaestiones super Leviticum*, cop. 18, P.L., 93, cols. 391-2. Also, for a survey on the literature on Christ as the 'Christus Medicus', see Shearman (1972): 77 ff.

made at dealing with the problem.⁵² By 1528, the situation in Brescia had deteriorated to the extent, that measures had to be taken to deal with the escalating problem of heresy: 'furono eletti dal pubblico di Brescia M. Avogadro, G.A. Chizzola, e C. Butio per estirpare l'eresia luterana'.⁵³ The early 1520's were marked by Eucharistic fervour, and this fervour reached fever pitch in the period leading up to the projected flood of 1524. Thus the significance of Romanino's depiction of the 'Raising of Lazarus' in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament clearly points to a contemporary, local concern with questions of heresy and with salvation.⁵⁴

A second unifying theme of the left wall is the inclusion, in each of the scenes depicted, of a Magdalen figure. The issue here is one of female spirituality, and of the involvement of women in the spiritual life of Brescia. While much remains to be explored, the evidence available suggests that women played a very active role in Brescian religious life; examples for such an involvement range from the holy women of Santa Croce (in particular *Beata Lucia Paratica*) to Gaetano Thiene's correspondent Laura Mignani, to the *Beata Stefana Quinzani* to Countess Laura Gambara, and in particular, Angela Merici, foundress of the Ursulines.⁵⁵ In each of the three scenes on the left wall, women are prominent protagonists.

⁵² The literature is extensive; see, for example Fenlon's (1972) seminal work on Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy; Ferlin (1972): 5-24; Collett (1985): 77; Martin (1993); Williams (1992).

⁵³ Cozzando (1694): 74. See also Guazzoni (1981): 46; Cistellini (1963): 447-450.

⁵⁴ It is interesting to note in this context that Romanino's altarpiece of the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints (fig.4) for the Brescian church of S. Francesco from 1517 has been interpreted as one of the earliest reactions to Lutheran teaching in Northern Italy. This point is put forward by Nova (1986): 89 ff.

⁵⁵ There is a long-standing tradition of female spirituality in Brescia which reaches back to Longobard times, and the royal foundations of Queen Ansa. See Doneda (1764): 120-135; Falsina (1969); Cistellini (1948); Prestini (1990). Research on Angela Merici is currently being carried out by Querciolo Mazzonis (Royal Holloway College, London), but so far the results of his work are not available for consultation.

The Raising of Lazarus (fig.52) is witnessed by two women who are placed behind Christ. They can be identified as Lazarus's sisters, Martha of Bethany, modestly covering her hair, and Mary Magdalen, dressed in her traditional red, with long, loose blond hair that falls openly over her shoulders. Mary is shown in the act of prayer, with folded hands held close to her chest. It is her reaction which signals most clearly the significance of the scene, and, at the same time, her act of prayer depicts the means of achieving this miracle.

Romanino depicted the same woman at the feet of Christ in the second canvas on the lower left wall, the Supper in the house of the Pharisee (fig.53). Romanino's version shows the Magdalene at the feet of Christ, who is seated at the right end of the table. The arrangement of the canvas in the chapel means that the Magdalene is facing towards the altar. She is dressed in a sumptuous red dress, with a splendid yellow cloak, which is falling off her shoulders as she is reaching out to anoint Christ's feet. Her action, which occupies the centre of the foreground, is made an example of by Christ: in talking to the Pharisee on his right side, he points out to him the prostrate figure of Mary Magdalene on the floor. The message seems clear: hers is an example to follow.

The event of an unnamed woman who entered the house of Simon the Pharisee to anoint the feet of Christ with her tears and drying them with her unbound, loose hair is reported in all four gospels and, like the Raising of Lazarus, was interpreted as an allegory of the sacrament of Penance.⁵⁶ Penance was held to be a necessary sacrament because in the words of the Council of Trent,

⁵⁶ Luke 7:36-50, Matt 26:6-13, Mark 14: 3-9, John 12:1-8

since God knoweth our frame, He has a remedy of life even to those who may after Baptism have delivered themselves up to the servitude of sin and the power of the devil, namely the sacrament of penance, by which the benefit of Christ's death is applied to those who have fallen after Baptism. [...] Contrition, which holds the first place among the acts of the penitent, is a sorrow of mind and a detestation for sin with the purpose of not sinning in the future.⁵⁷

Penance is of particular importance as the proper sacrament prior to the reception of the sacrament of the Eucharist in the celebration of mass. For

whoever eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of sinning against the body and blood of the Lord. A man ought to examine himself before he eats of the bread or drinks the cup. For anyone who eats and drinks without recognising the body of the Lord eats and drinks judgement on himself.⁵⁸

Particularly with reference again to the contemporary historical situation within which Romanino's scenes were created, the preoccupation with the sacrament of penance was of major concern for the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista. Due reverence to the sacrament of the Eucharist implied an awareness of the need for the proper preparation prior to the celebration of the mass, and penance was also seen as a means of averting the wrath of God.⁵⁹ Mary Magdalen, the prominent protagonist of the Supper in the House of the Pharisee, was granted forgiveness for her previous sinful life, and

⁵⁷ Schroeder, (1941): 88ff.

⁵⁸ 1Cor 11: 23 ff.

⁵⁹ For contemporary examples, see Savonarola's preaching of penance in Florence in 1494. Olin (1969): 5-15; Olin (1990): 1-37.

after thirty years of fasting and penance was rewarded with a vision of Christ in His glory.⁶⁰

The final scene on the left wall is the lunette of the Miracle of the Eucharist (fig.51). Romanino has depicted the miraculous appearance of a small child in the consecrated species of the host, which is witnessed by a number of onlookers. The scene of the vision takes place in a dark church interior, lit only by two candles burning on the altar, and above all, by the splendour of the Eucharistic vision. The apparition of the child on the altar is pointed out by a little blond child of the same age as the child appearing above the paten, and a bearded priest seemingly just interrupted in the celebration of the mass. The little blond boy stands in front of the cross depicted on the altar frontal, and invites a little lamb, curled up at the feet of one of two couples in front of the altar, to look at the apparition. On the same axis, the apparition is placed on the altar, and is in itself surmounted by a crucifix. The theme suggested here is one of the imitation of Christ.⁶¹

The boy is flanked on either side by a kneeling couple: on the left, a man in dark clothes and with uncovered head is dwarfed by the large figure of a woman dressed in black and gold. The couple on the boy's right are equally sumptuously dressed, with the figure closest to the boy dressed in black reaching out to the child to fix his attention once more on the miraculous appearance on the altar. The figure kneeling next to her is dressed in brilliant blue. This group in

⁶⁰ Seven times a day the Magdalen- according to the Golden Legend- was translated into heaven by an angel, to experience her vision of Christ. She finally died in Aix after the reception of her last communion from St. Maximin. According to the account in Jacobus de Voragine's Golden Legend, it was Mary's penance which removed the guilt of her previous sinful life from her, and which won her God's 'superabundant grace'. Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols., Princeton, 1993, pp. 374-383.

⁶¹ It can be argued that Romanino's blond boy refers to the representation of the Holy Innocents on the other side of the nave of the church, where Moretto's Murder of the Innocents is still *in situ*.

the foreground is flanked by, on the left, three women, and on the right, a group of four men. The three women kneeling in the left foreground are again gorgeously dressed in sixteenth-century fashion, with sumptuous garments in blacks, golds and reds. The most striking woman in this group is the one placed in the middle, and dressed in red, whose dark hair appears to be uncovered, and whose hands are raised and folded in prayer. Equally, special prominence is afforded to one of the men kneeling on the right of the altar: he wears a blue cloak over his black-and white chequered garment, and has raised his right hand in astonishment, to point at the vision on the altar. His head is covered in a yellow turban, in what might be a reference to his being a convert?

The middle ground is occupied by a great assemblage of people, amongst whom can be identified, on the left, a man in the robes of a cardinal, clutching a papal tiara, and numerous men in religious habit. On the very left are depicted two bearded men with white collars whose similar faces might be intended to recall Sts. Faustino and Giovita.

The group on the right side of the altar is badly affected by paint losses, but it is possible to distinguish kneeling figures in contemporary dress with hands raised in prayer, and eyes fixed on the altar. While difficult to make out, the group on the right includes several beardless figures who might be women. Some of the group on the right carry crosses and banners. Given the location of the lunette in the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia, it seems possible to tentatively identify the group as members of the Confraternity of the Sacrament, carrying the device and the standard of the

confraternity with them.⁶² This scene has posed a number of problems to scholars, and so far, a satisfactory explanation of the subject of the scene in the context of the chapel is still missing. It is possible though to arrive at an interpretation which explains the anomalies of this Miracle of the Eucharist by considering the place of the lunette in the decorative scheme of the chapel.

Much controversy has surrounded the identification of the subject of the lunette, which has variously been identified as a Miracle of the Eucharist or a Mass of St. Gregory.⁶³ The Golden Legend is very precise in describing the apparition at the Mass of St. Gregory as restricted to a finger:

A certain woman used to bring altar breads to Gregory every Sunday morning, and one Sunday, when the time came for receiving communion, and he held out the body of the Lord to her [...] she laughed as if at a joke. He immediately drew back his hand from her mouth and laid the consecrated Host on the altar. [...] Then Gregory, faced with the woman's lack of belief, prostrated himself in prayer, and when he rose, he found the particle of bread changed into flesh in the shape of a finger. Seeing this, the woman recovered her faith.⁶⁴

Two issues need to be raised in this context: the apparition of a child seems to point to an identification of the subject as a Miracle of the Eucharist instead of a Mass of St. Gregory. This identification also gains credence by a consideration of the figure of the celebrant, whose depiction does not mark him out as St. Gregory the Great, entitled to wear the papal tiara. There is some

⁶² One of the functions of the confraternity would have been the organisation of processions on Maundy Thursday and the feast day of *Corpus Christi* when members of the confraternity carried the cross and the banner through the streets of Brescia.

⁶³ Nova (1994a): 242-246, interprets the subject as the Mass of St. Gregory; traditionally the subject has been held to represent an unspecified 'Miracle of the Eucharist', as, for example, by Panazza, Damiani and Passamani, in the catalogue of the 1965 exhibition on Romanino: Panazza (1965a): 61-66.

ambiguity about this interpretation, though, if one considers the glance of the priest. He has turned to look at the woman of the left couple, who has been given prominence by being represented on a larger scale than the rest of the assembled figures. She wears a rich gold and black dress, with her head modestly covered, while her undivided attention is given to the vision on the altar. The miracle is pointed out to her, and it is possible to identify her as the woman whose doubts created the necessity of the miracle in the first place.

The second issue raised by the reference to the Golden Legend is the issue of doubt, and also, conversion to the faith. The ranks of the faithful behind the altar are barely visible, yet it is apparent that few of them actually look at the miraculous apparition. Instead, their function seems to be mainly as witnesses to the validity of the sacrament of the Eucharist, and the Real Presence of Christ in the consecrated host. This returns the discussion to the man kneeling at the right in the foreground of the image. He shares the yellow head dress with one of the servants in Moretto's Last Supper on the right wall, and it might be conceivable to see his inclusion as a comment on the need for conversion and penance in order to placate God. The most direct demonstration of the mercy of God is in the provision of the Eucharist. And it is in the celebration of the Eucharist that the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia can help fight heresy in encouraging a more frequent communion, and in disseminating this message even to doubters and infidels, leading them thus back into the community of the church.

Yet another possible interpretation of the left wall is suggested by a reference back to Lamberti's frame. As has already been mentioned, the date on

⁶⁴ Jacobus de Voragine (1993): 179-180.

the frame relates to the frame itself rather than the painting. Yet the date, 1509, opens up speculations about the role of a Brescian visionary, Maddalena Migliorati, who died in the same year, in the conception of the subject-matter of the lunette of the left wall.⁶⁵ The gaze of the priest in the Miracle of the Eucharist is ambiguous, and there is a second woman he might be addressing. She is younger than the matronly figure in black and gold, and accompanied by two other women. Unlike the older woman, her head is uncovered, and her dress is red. The woman in the red dress holds her folded hand before her chest and with a look of intense introspection concentrates on the miracle on the altar. The red dress, and the uncovered hair link her representation to the standard iconography of Mary Magdalene. This might allow for a tentative interpretation of this woman as a contemporary Brescian Magdalene, Maddalena Migliorati herself.

What little there is known about her, is easily summarised: she died in 1509, and appears to have been an Augustinian tertiary associated with the convent of Santa Croce who experienced visions of Christ in the consecrated host of the mass.⁶⁶ Santa Croce was one of Brescia's most aristocratic convents, and famed for the sanctity of its inhabitants.⁶⁷ Maddalena Migliorati 'meritò di vedere più fiate nel tempo della santa comunione il suo diletto Gesù in figura di bambinello sopra la patena', a description of her vision which fits with the representation of the miracle in Romanino's lunette.⁶⁸ Romanino's lunette also reminds the beholder of the sacrifice of Christ as well as the actual, physical and Real Presence of Christ in the celebration of mass.

⁶⁵ Cope (1979): 234. Also, Cistellini (1948): 163, and Doneda (1764). A further reference to Maddalena Migliorati can be found in Guazzoni (1986): 19-31.

⁶⁶ Doneda (1764) and Prestini (1990).

⁶⁷ The prime source on Santa Croce is Carlo Doneda's Notizie Istoriche di Santa Croce in Brescia from 1764. The convent was under the Augustinian rule, and especially devoted to the Eucharist. Prestini (1990): 15 ff.

The link between the woman in red and Maddalena Migliorati is suggestive, but remains problematic. If she is meant to represent the pious Augsutinian tertiary, why is she dressed in red? And why does she occupy the comparatively humble position at the very left of the lunette? Cope suggested that Migliorati is buried in the Chapel of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista, but no trace of any tomb in the chapel remains. The chapel was substantially restored in 1881, under the supervision of Stefano Fenaroli, the Brescian correspondent of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, yet even Fenaroli does not mention a tomb in the chapel.

The Miracle of the Eucharist is the only non-scriptural subject depicted in the chapel, and as such has caused, and will continue to cause, considerable difficulties in interpretation and identification. If, however, the lunette is read as a contemporary reference to Maddalena Migliorati's visions, another interpretation becomes possible. The problem here is a lack of descriptions of her visions, yet there are anomalies in Romanino's painting which make it possible to distinguish his version from depictions of the much more frequently depicted 'Mass of St. Gregory'.⁶⁹ It is also important to bear in mind that there was a strong Northern Italian tradition of 'holy women', such as the Ferrarese Caterina Vegri, or the stigmatist Lucia Broccadelli.⁷⁰ Migliorati's reputed visions thus fit within the local context, as well as the tradition of female visions of the Eucharist.⁷¹ One

⁶⁸ Cistellini (1948): 163.

⁶⁹ The 'Mass of St. Gregory' as related in the Golden Legend reports of the apparition of a bleeding finger in the consecrated host as a sign of the Real presence of Christ in the species of the Eucharist, whereas Romanino's lunette depicts the vision of the Christ Child standing on the paten which is placed on top of the chalice. The chalice is placed directly in front of the crucifix, and the apparition of the little child, in a mandorla of splendid light, and crowned with a halo, is in a direct visual relation to the figure of Christ on the crucifix.

⁷⁰ Campbell (1998): 77; on the visualisation of the miracle of Vegri's joy in the presence of the Eucharist after her death, Wood (1995): 272-6; Baruffaldi (1708): 63-83; Zarni (1986): 365; Zarni (1990): 54-55; Chjnecki (1998): 96-75.

⁷¹ Bynum (1987).

of the reasons for the interpretation of Romanino's lunette as a vision by Maddalena Migliorati is the emphasis on the Magdalen figure in the two lower paintings, yet there are also clues in what little there is known of Maddalena herself.

Visually though, the contemporary miracle of Maddalena's vision of the Eucharist finds a parallel in Moretto's lunette of the Last Supper (fig.48) where a contemporary cleric witnesses the historic moment of the institution of the sacrament. In both scenes then, there is an emphasis on the relevance of the sacrament of the Eucharist to the contemporary Brescian beholder. It is also worth pointing out that in Romanino's lunette the emphasis is on the host: it was customary to distribute communion to the laity in the form of the host only, another point to explain the focus of popular piety surrounding the Eucharist on the host.⁷²

⁷² Numerous medieval miracles and visions relating to the sacrament of the Eucharist centre on bodily apparitions of Christ in the elevated host. The best known miracle of this kind is the 'Mass of St. Gregory': further examples can be found in Browe (1938).

Conclusion

The Chapel of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista, as has already been mentioned, was the first example of a decoration of a Chapel of the Sacrament employing the lateral walls in a carefully co-ordinated pictorial programme, and was as thus widely copied.⁷³ The questions of

why was it that from the [...] Sixteenth-Century paintings in churches on panels or canvas, which had previously been confined to altarpieces [...] spread over the walls? Was this extension of pictorial narrative simply indicative of aesthetic preference and the availability of patronage, or does it reflect the spirituality and social concerns of the Sixteenth-Century?

have already been asked, but not yet answered.⁷⁴ The questions will remain open to ongoing interpretation, particularly with reference to the pronounced lack of contemporary writings concerned with the reasons behind this development, but it is possible to advance a hypothesis in response in the case of the Chapel of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia. It is possible to argue that the solution arrived at by the *massari* of the confraternity was in response to the very particular local conditions in which the decoration was conceived, including the recent Sack of Brescia, and ensuing *spianata* of the suburbs. There seems to have been a very real need, though, to project a more positive image of Brescia in the years immediately following the end of the occupation in 1516, which found an expression in a renewal of large-scale commissions for local artists, as well as prestigious commissions awarded to foreign artists, most importantly the award

⁷³ Maurice Cope deals at length with later examples of Chapels of the Sacrament, and a list of examples for Brescia is included in the appendix. Cope (1979).

⁷⁴ Hills (1983): 30.

of the commission for the Resurrection Polyptych in SS. Nazaro e Celso to Titian.

The second motive for this novel form of decoration was the local importance of devotions to the Eucharist, and one of the foci of devotion was the church of San Giovanni Evangelista. It is important to remember here that San Giovanni Evangelista was seized during the Sack of Brescia, and its treasures were plundered by French soldiers, recollections of which survive in a moving letter written by Innocenzo Cassari, one of the canons of San Giovanni Evangelista.⁷⁵ The relation of Romanino's lunette of the Eucharistic Miracle Fig. 51) to Moretto's altarpiece of the Murder of the Innocents (fig.20) across the nave of the church has already been pointed out. If Maddalena Migliorati is indeed buried in San Giovanni Evangelista, then the emphasis on a veneration of the Eucharist in this particular church again finds support from the contemporary conditions under which the decoration was created.

The third argument which can be advanced in support of the thesis above is the need, within Brescia, of asserting a distinctive local identity, which found an expression in the activities of the local *scuole* and confraternities, and subsequently in the nature of the commissions awarded to the local artists. In the case of the commission for the Chapel of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista, the work was divided between the two leading artists in Brescia at the beginning of the 1520s, Moretto and Romanino. Both of these artists were experienced in the execution of large-scale fresco decorations, yet neither had worked on this scale in canvas before. The direct competition between these two artists edged each one of them on to display the extremes of their styles, and as a

⁷⁵ See discussion of the letter in chapter 1.

result, in one chapel can be found the very best of Brescian painting. In fact, the chapel was to serve as a reference point for Brescian painting throughout the sixteenth-century, and if the case of a distinctive Brescian School of painting, with its concomitant associations of a distinctive Brescian identity, can be advanced, its founding manifesto is found in San Giovanni Evangelista.

The final, remaining question is Cope's question about the nature of early Counter Reformation imagery. Indeed, it can be argued that in the decoration of this chapel Moretto and Romanino fulfil the criteria of Counter Reformation imagery in their response to Luther's challenge to the sacramental system of the church. What the imagery in San Giovanni Evangelista projects, more than anything else, is a reaffirmation of the sacrament of the Eucharist which was here advanced in visual terms, yet it was not for another three decades that the Council of Trent affirmed the very same precepts in its decrees: 'Therefore our Saviour ... instituted this sacrament in which he poureth forth, as it were the riches of His divine love towards men... and commanded us in the participation of it to reverence His memory...'⁷⁶. It is important to keep in mind that the Council of Trent was called with the double intention of bringing about the 'extirpation of heresies and reform of morals'.⁷⁷ The Council redefined the already promulgated dogma and doctrines of the Catholic Church, as well as considering ways and means of how to reform the laxity of morals and ignorance of clergy within the existing church. It thus reiterated dogma and doctrines which looked back to previous councils, such as the Council of Florence and Ferrara in

⁷⁶ Schroeder (1941): 74.

⁷⁷ Third Session of the Council of Trent, quoted in Schroeder (1941): 15

1439, and which were valid and used a long time before the actual decrees and canons were discussed in Trent.⁷⁸

In the decoration of the Chapel of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista therefore, Moretto and Romanino established a seminal iconography of the Eucharist, which found widespread imitation in Brescia and the *Veneto*.

⁷⁸ On the Council of Trent, see Jedin (1961).

Chapter 5

Eucharistic Imagery II:

Moretto and the Eucharistic Christ, 1540-1545.

This chapter continues the discussion of Eucharistic subject matter that was started with the earlier examination of the Chapel of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista. Instead of concentrating on one commission here, this section will consider the development and introduction of a new Eucharistic motif into Brescian art. This motif will be placed into the context of the discussion of Counter Reformation imagery.

The subject of the Eucharistic Christ, the depiction of a full-length Risen Christ above an altar and a monstrance adored by saints (figs. 54; 55), was first executed by Moretto in 1540. Moretto's images of the Eucharistic Christ for confraternities of the sacrament have received little scholarly attention, with the exception of Guazzoni's treatment of Moretto's religious works in 1981. His study, however, omits to examine the visual and historical context of the images fully, and limits their interpretation, on just three pages, to the debate concerning the mass.¹ Guazzoni also treats the Marmentino and Castenedolo altarpieces as provincial one-off versions of the same subject, and fails to comment on the importance of the motif of the Eucharistic Christ in the context of the various discussions of the Counter Reformation and identity that are introduced for the first time in this study.

The Eucharistic Christ with Sts. Cosmas and Damian (fig. 54), for the parish church of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Marmentino, is the first visual record in Brescia of the devotional practice of the *Quarant'Ore* or Forty Hours devotion, introduced to Brescia from Milan in 1536.² The establishment of this devotional practice coincided with a decade characterised by intense spiritual activity in

¹ Guazzoni (1981): 49-51.

² The practice was introduced by the Capuchin friar Giovanni Piantanida da Fermo. Guazzoni (1981): 49; Cistellini (1948): 18.

Brescia as exemplified by the attempts of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga at a fashioning of their visual identity. In this context, Moretto's introduction of the motif of the Eucharistic Christ will be discussed with reference to the spiritual concerns of one patron, Donato Savallo, who was actively involved with the Augustinian Canons, and who took a pro-active stance in the fight against heresy.

In its emphasis on the Real Presence of Christ in the consecrated communion host and the efficacy of intercessory prayer, the Eucharistic Christ is a clear expression of a Counter Reformation spirituality in Brescia. It will be argued that the introduction of this Eucharistic devotion, the *Quarant'Ore*, and its visualisation in Moretto's altarpieces of the Eucharistic Christ, were part of a campaign to eradicate heretical beliefs in parishes suffering from the 'pestifera lutherana'.³ In order to give added focus to the discussion in this chapter, only two representative examples, the altarpieces executed for Castenedolo and Marmentino will be looked at in detail. Both of these villages are located in the periphery of Brescia, and in areas that reported occurrences of heretical movements during the 1540s.

The concern with orthodoxy which is apparent in Moretto's motif of the Eucharistic Christ can be interpreted as an indicator of the spiritual preoccupations of a specific group of Brescian patrons, and especially of Donato Savallo. Examination of the patronage of this new motif will also allow an extension of the discussion beyond the context of Brescia, to consider the way in which new motifs were developed prior to the Council of Trent.

³ Begni Redona (1988): 336.

With this new motif Moretto created a type of imagery prior to Trent which displayed the characteristics assigned to the Counter Reformation. Through its emphasis on the Real Presence of Christ in the consecrated host and during celebration of the mass, it became particularly popular with confraternities of the Sacrament. The foundation of numerous *Scuole del Sacramento* throughout Italy reflected the growing concern within the Catholic Church with the re-definition and affirmation of its teaching concerning the Eucharist. As powerful agents of reform, the confraternities received backing from Pope Paul III.⁴ The proliferation of *Scuole del Sacramento* in the course of the sixteenth-century is a well-studied phenomenon, but less attention has been paid, with the exception of studies by Cope, Hills and, more recently, Worthen, to images exclusively painted and developed for chapels and altars dedicated to the Holy Sacrament.⁵ Confraternities of the sacrament were parish-based, and as such the focus of their activities was their parish church where the members of the confraternity maintained an altar, or a chapel, dedicated to the Sacrament. As such, imagery commissioned for their chapels reflects not only the spiritual preoccupations of the Confraternity itself, but often provides important insights into the concerns of the parish where they were based. In the case of the Marmentino and Castenedolo altarpieces, both parishes were tainted with suspicions of heresy, and a strong display of orthodoxy was needed. This need was met by altarpieces celebrating not only the Real Presence of Christ in the celebration of mass, but also confirming the piety of the members of the confraternity by associating them with the new devotional practice of the *Quarant'Ore*. As such, these images served as a strong affirmation of orthodoxy

⁴ Hills (1983): 30-43.

in parishes where heretical leanings were suspected. In its emphasis on the Real Presence of Christ in the transubstantiated communion species, the motif of the Eucharistic Christ in the work of Moretto reflected general Counter Reformation trends in its affirmation of the teaching of the Church on the sacrament of the Eucharist. A close reading of the images in the context of the liturgical and devotional activities of confraternities of the Sacrament suggests though, that the impact of the imagery went beyond the illustration of general tendencies, and reflected instead the particular dissemination of the devotional practice of the *Quarant'Ore*.

The dissemination of the motif was restricted to the *Bresciano* and its execution was limited to Moretto. In addition, the use of the motif appears to have been confined to the 1540s and early 1550s. This period of activity coincides with Moretto's association with the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga (see discussion in Chapter Three). It might be assumed that some of the factors that caused the surge in patronage activities of the Canons were indicative of the religious situation in the town and also affected other religious patrons.

This is borne out by a consideration of the role of the above mentioned Donato Savallo as patron of two versions of the Eucharistic Christ. What little there is known about Savallo is easily summed up.⁶ He was born in 1498 in Brescia, and became Canon in the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia in 1519. In 1524, he was promoted to the position of Archpriest of the Duomo Vecchio. After 1535, he became one of the guardians of the new order of the Ursulines. In 1539, he was one of the men who worked with Annibale Grisoni on a commission to eradicate heresy in the *Bresciano*, and in 1540 he was made the Vicar General of

⁶ On confraternities, see esp. Black (1989); Pullan (1971); on Confraternities of the Sacrament,

the diocese of Brescia. From 1550 Savallo acted as procurator of San Pietro in Oliveto, and served as Prior General of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga in 1569-1570.⁷ The benefice of Marmentino was conferred to Savallo on 22 December 1512 by Bishop Paolo Zane, and he kept the benefice until 1551.

In the context of the discussion in this chapter, Savallo's associations with the Ursulines (see discussion below) and the Canons of San Giorgio of Alga place him at the forefront of spiritual developments in Brescia. Savallo's association with the Congregation in particular is yet another indication of the strong links of these Canons with Brescia. It furthermore reflects the spiritual outlook of a group of patrician patrons whose orthodox vision was precisely captured by Moretto. This group included patricians such as Savallo, Umberto Gambara and Tommaso Caprioli, all of whom, as has already been discussed in Chapter Three, were associated with the Augustinian Congregation.

Most information about Savallo refers to his aggressively anti-heretical convictions. Most importantly, he was actively involved in quashing heretical movements in the *Bresciano*. In 1539, Bishop Cornaro nominated Canon Annibale Grisoni as the official in charge of operations for the extirpation of heresy in the *Bresciano* that subsequently uncovered centres of heretic activity in Collio and Chiari, both neighbouring on to Savallo's parish of Marmentino.⁸ Savallo was one of the men active for Grisoni in the Val Trompia and from 1540, he was assigned the task of conducting an inquest at Chiari 'ubi pestifera secta lutherana cum maximo christifidelium periculo pullulat'.⁹ It was during that very

see Cope (1979); Hills (1983): 30-43; Schiferl (1991): 121-140; Worthen (1996): 707-732

⁶ Guerrini (1952): 86; Guazzoni (1981): 46-47; Begni Redona (1988): 336.

⁷ *ASB*, Fondo Religione, b.150, *Liber Privilegiorum*, p.71, 21st April 1550. Also, Tomasini (1642): 535; Guazzoni (1988): 269.

⁸ Guazzoni (1981): 46-47.

⁹ Begni Redona (1988): 336.

year that Moretto was given the commission for the Eucharistic Christ with Sts. Cosmas and Damian (fig.54) for the parish church of Marmentino, and it can be argued that the same combative anti-heretical attitude which characterised Savallo's actions as Grisoni's henchman also pervades the altarpieces of the Eucharistic Christ that Moretto executed for churches in Savallo's benefices of Marmentino and Castenedolo.

Savallo's choice of Moretto as the painter for the altarpieces was not a surprising one. He moved in the same spiritual circles as the painter: Moretto served several terms as an officer in the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament of the Duomo Vecchio, where Savallo served as *arciprete*. A personal letter of Savallo's to Moretto survives from December 1530, which establishes a personal connection between the two men.¹⁰ In addition, there was ample opportunity for Savallo to meet Moretto in the circle of Angela Merici. We know that Merici lived in Agostino Gallo's house in the parish of San Clemente. Moretto lived in the same district, and was a close personal friend not only of Gallo's (who was named as one of the executioners of Moretto's will), but also of Merici herself.¹¹ Furthermore, not only did Savallo play a prominent part as guardian of the Ursulines, he was also equally involved in the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga: Savallo was procurator of San Pietro in Oliveto from 1550. Finally, apart from the personal acquaintance of the two men, it can be argued that the nature of the commissions for Marmentino and Castenedolo precluded the employment of any other painter.

¹⁰ The letter was written in December 1530 and concerns the organ builder Antegnati. Dell'Acqua (1988): 134. On Savallo, see especially Guerrini (1952): 73-131 and Guazzoni (1981): 50.

¹¹ Moretto is said to have executed a portrait of Angela Merici after her death. This survives in several copies. Dell'Acqua (1988): 127-128.

The 1540s were years of great changes and active debates in spiritual matters in Europe as a whole. 1540 saw the publication of the controversial Trattato utilissimo del Beneficio di Jesu Christo crocifisso in Venice, 'the best-known Protestant tract in Italian'.¹² By 1549, the tract had been burnt in Naples, denounced in Verona, and was placed on the Index of prohibited Books in Venice. In 1542, Pope Paul III, by the Papal Bull Licet ab Initio of 4th July, reinstated the Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition with the stated purpose of supervising and co-ordinating activities of inquisitorial tribunals. This move was followed in Venice in 1547 by the establishment of three deputies on heresy, the *Savvi sopra Eresia*.¹³ As a consequence of the adoption of a hard line of politics by the Roman Catholic Church, debates concerning the true teaching of the Church became more pressing, and this found an expression in the need for orthodox and correct imagery in churches. After the failure of several earlier attempts, Paul III finally convoked a Council that was solemnly opened at Trent on 13th December 1545, with its stated aims as the definition of Catholic belief and the reform of the Church (see also the list of events in the chronology).

The 1540s were equally important years for the shaping of the religious landscape in Brescia. One example that epitomises the character of the decade in the town was the series of events following the death of Angela Merici on 27 January 1540. Angela Merici had founded the female order of the *Compagnia delle dimesse di Sant'Orsola* on 25 November 1535, the feast day of St. Catherine of Alexandria, which had inspired a great following.¹⁴ Her demise was widely mourned, and perpetual masses were said in Sant'Afra 'fra le benedizioni

¹² Greengrass (1998):150; Collett (1985): chapter on Benedetto da Mantova and the Beneficio di Christo.

¹³ Greengrass (1998): 151.

e le lagrime di numerosissima moltitudine di popolo' for a month.¹⁵ Moretto's friend Agostino Gallo, in whose house Angela Merici had lived from 1529, noted the signs of sanctity of Merici's effigy: 'non solamente in tanti giorni non rendete cattivo odore, ma sempre li brazzi et mani anco si snodavano talmente di membro in mebro, che palpando et calcando ogni parte di quella carne ritornava a sé, come fa ad ogni persona viva'.¹⁶ Large numbers of faithful undertook pilgrimages to Sant'Afra to see Merici's body.¹⁷ Yet these manifestations of popular piety are perhaps less significant than developments within the Ursulines themselves following her death. Merici's successor as head of the order was Countess Lucrezia di Londrone. Under her guidance, the rule of the Ursulines was reformed. Londrone's approach differed from that of her predecessor in that she emphasised the need to consolidate reforms, to strive at more moderation, and to be less innovative. The direction of the Ursulines was towards greater orthodoxy, and in these efforts, one of the driving forces behind Londrone was the Brescian *arciprete* Donato Savallo. Together with Aurelio Duranti, Savallo served as *conservatore apostolico della Compagnia*.¹⁸ Londrone's efforts at reform initially led to her excommunication but Savallo and Duranti appealed on her behalf to Pope Paul III who approved of the reform and reinstated her in 1544.

This episode is significant as a turning point in perceptions of the Counter Reformation in Brescia. Prior to 1540, the religious climate in the town had been characterised by innovation and initiative; after 1540, there was greater emphasis on institutional reform and orthodoxy. The example of the Ursulines is a fitting

¹⁴ On Merici, see especially Cistellini (1948). On Moretto's will, see in particular Volta (1987): 203-220.

¹⁵ Dell'Acqua (1988): 127.

¹⁶ Ledòchowska (1967): 324; Guazzoni (1981): 41.

¹⁷ Guazzoni (1986): 19.

¹⁸ Guazzoni (1986): 19. See also Fossati (1981): 42-55.

one to demonstrate this tendency as the foundation of the order in 1535 was largely due to Angela Merici's initiative and spiritual convictions. Londrone's reforms in the following decade then brought the Ursulines into line with mainstream developments within the Church. The spiritual outlook of the 1540s was a more restricted one and this finds an expression in Brescia in the vigorous attempts made at the extirpation of heresy.¹⁹ Brescia and the *Bresciano* were at the centre of heretic activities, which increased with the preaching and expulsion of a Fra Raffaele in 1539.²⁰ Heretical movements were largely concentrated in areas outside of Brescia, and especially to the north of the town. Lutheran propaganda was disseminated from Switzerland via the Val Trompia region, and thus reached the town. Awareness of a spiritual threat was certainly in evidence prior to 1540, yet that decade saw the most vigorous attempts at reform yet.²¹

The development of the Eucharistic Christ as a motif in the 1540s highlights the intensity of spiritual preoccupations of that decade in the town. Moretto's contribution was that of capturing the essence of this Brescian Counter Reformation in this decade; the outlook of his patrons was an essentially orthodox one, with an emphasis on adherence to traditional tenets of faith. The particular character of the motif of the Eucharistic Christ is in keeping with this spiritual stance of patrons who relied on Moretto's ability to give visual

¹⁹ One person to suffer from suspicions of heresy was Francesco Cabrini, future founder of the *Padri della Pace*. See Guerrini (1933): 89 Cistellini (1963): 447-450; Guazzoni (1986): 22.

²⁰ Cistellini (1948): 22 ff.

²¹ For example, in 1531, Battista da Crema had warned of Luther's malevolent influence:

che accade a Martino Luthero ad voler fare schisma? Non fa la santa Madre Chiesa scisma, né divisione, ma confessa una Santa Madre Chiesa Romana [...]: anchora che fosseno alchuni ministri in essa Santa Madre Chiesa che fosseno perversi, e ribaldi: che è possibile cose: e sempre fra le rose sono state spine, e el bon grano sta nascosto fra la paglia.

Battista da Crema, Philosophia divina di quello solo vero maestro Iesu Christo Crucifixo, Milan, 1531, chap.1. See also Guazzoni (1986): 23.

expression to this. One of the decisive factors for the particular appeal of Moretto's art, as has been discussed in previous chapters, appears to have been the formulaic nature of much of his output. His images were easily copied, and the result was predictable and reliable. Compositionally, his images relied on the division of the canvas into an upper and a lower half. This same scheme was also applied to the Eucharistic Christ. The essentially orthodox nature of the new motif in its emphasis on traditional teachings of the Catholic Church was in conformity with previous work the painter had executed for this particular circle of patrons. The appeal of the images, apart from their aesthetic merits, was the guaranteed orthodoxy of their content. Moretto's association with a number of religious orders, and in particular the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga, made him a safe choice.

The employment of the motif of the Eucharistic Christ for two provincial churches highlights the importance ascribed to the use of images in the Catholic Church. Medieval devotional practices had become more and more inclined to associate religion with tactile and visual practices, and this had led to misunderstandings amongst the congregations about the power of images.²² The discrepancy between the Catholic Church and the Protestant reformers with regards to the efficacious employment of imagery in sacred spaces resulted in widespread iconoclasm at the beginning of the Reformation.²³ The south of Europe was largely spared outbreaks of iconoclastic violence, but debates about the proper use of images nevertheless occurred. Even more importantly, though, was the insistence on the continued use of images in churches in Italy, with the

²² Mangrum and Scavizzi (1991).

²³ Karlstadt removed images from the churches in Wittenberg in 1522; Zwingli, in 1523, persuaded the city authorities of Zürich to remove images from its churches; Calvin vehemently opposed the use of images. For discussion of the situation in England, see Duffy (1994).

proviso, though, of illustrating correct tenets of faith. One of the functions of the Council of Trent was the reaffirmation of dogma, thus laying down the guidelines for what constituted correct imagery in the latter half of the sixteenth-century. Consequently, much religious art was streamlined into favouring subject matter in accordance with the precepts of Trent. Prior to Trent, though, local variation on religious subject matter was greater. One manifestation of this tendency was Moretto's Eucharistic Christ.

The motif of the Eucharistic Christ serves as a good study of the use of images as vehicles for the definition and visualisation of complex theological concepts. The importance of the use of sacred art for this purpose is indisputable, and has generally been recognised through centuries of use. The medium where the interrelation between images, style and theological and historical contexts can be observed most directly, is the altarpiece. Humfrey observed that

by definition placed above a church altar, in close visual, physical and spiritual conjunction with the locus of liturgical worship, the altarpiece could hardly avoid reflecting several of the most urgent doctrinal debates of the period: on the nature of eucharistic sacrifice; on the extent of priestly and ecclesiastical authority; on the efficacy of 'good works', including endowed Masses and pious donations, in the economy of human salvation.²⁴

This privileged location of the altarpiece within the church highlights the expectations of the viewer, since the placement of the altarpiece within the context of the church or side chapel meant that it would only be viewed as part of the experience of attending church. Its location also meant that the viewer would

²⁴ Humfrey (1996): 370.

look at the altarpiece during the celebration of mass. Together with the gestures of the priest, the altarpiece would substitute the main source of information for the congregation. In the case of the images for Marmentino and Castenedolo, the altarpieces were simple, direct, and invited the beholder to imitate the actions of the saints at the foot of the altar. The act of perpetual devotion demonstrated by the saints invited the beholders to join into their perpetual adoration of Christ.

The reasons behind the development of the Moretto's Eucharistic Christ have to be located within the historical context of the debates in the sixteenth-century that pertained to the reaffirmation of Catholic dogma in the wake of the Protestant Reformation. It was the reformers' notion of the mass that led to the most insurmountable differences between Catholics and Protestants.²⁵ The Protestant denial of the sacrificial character of the mass implied that liturgically the mass was a communion service only, in which the Christian community partakes of symbols of Christ's body and blood (cosubstantiation). In stark contrast to this conviction is the Catholic understanding of the mass as a relative and representative sacrifice. The celebration of the Eucharist in Catholic eyes is thus seen as a liturgical re-enactment in an unbloody ritual of the unique sacrifice of Christ in which the same Christ, through the instrumentality of His own priests, and in a sacrament instituted at the Last Supper, offered Himself for the salvation of mankind.²⁶ The very act of the celebration of the Eucharist is at the liturgical centre of the mass, and as such is of central importance for the understanding of the redemptive character of the sacrifice of Christ. The

²⁵ For example, see Calvin, John, Institutes of the Christian Religion II (book 4, cs.17-18), pp. 1359-1448.

²⁶ Writings of Catholic apologists on the mass include, for example, Conrad Braun's De Caeremonis (1548); the writings of Cochlaeus (John Dobneck)' John Clichtove's Confutatio Lutheranismi Danici. Theisen (1965): 20 ff.

centrality of the sacrament of the Eucharist to Catholic thinking is explained by Miri Rubin:

preoccupations with access to and understanding of the Eucharist, the Eucharist seen as the essence of stability of social order and of dominant ideology, possessed an urgency which arose from the very centrality of the symbol. Within the language of religion with the Eucharist at its heart many objections, criticisms and attacks could be tolerated, as long as they were not aimed at that heart.²⁷

And it was at this very heart of the Catholic Church that Protestant criticism was aimed. As early as 1520, Luther criticised the sacramental system of the Church in the De Captivitate Babylonica. His most scathing attacks were reserved for the sacrificial notion of the mass. The central act of the celebration of mass was the conversion of the substance of the bread and the wine into the whole substance of the body and blood of Christ (or Transubstantiation).²⁸ Hence the insistence in Moretto's depictions of the Eucharistic Christ on the physical reality of Christ's body. At the beginning of the sixteenth-century, following Luther's denial of the sacrificial nature of the mass, debates concerning the Eucharist and the nature of the celebration of the mass became topics of utmost importance for the reform of the Church.²⁹ Protestant criticisms of the sacrificial nature of the mass denied the Real Presence of Christ in the act of the Transubstantiation, and this also implied the denial of the presence of Christ in the consecrated host.³⁰

²⁷ Rubin (1991): 350.

²⁸ Rubin (1991): 351.

²⁹ Protestant reformers such as Luther and Zwingli described the Mass as a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice on the cross only, in contrast to the Catholic view of the mass as a re-enactment of the sacrifice of Christ. Theisen (1965): 2-19.

³⁰ Jungmann (1949); Theisen (1965): 2-19.

Moretto's starting point for his conception of the Eucharistic Christ was this Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ. In the versions executed for Savallo at Marmentino and Castenedolo (figs. 54; 55), he represented a corporeal, palpably present Christ *in nubibus* above the altar. Moretto thus succeeded in the translation of the concept of the Real Presence of Christ into the tangible reality of the altarpiece above the altar. In both the Marmentino and Castenedolo versions, the altarpieces were executed for chapels of confraternities of the Sacrament, or the Corpus Christi.

Because the celebration of Catholic mass was the ritual which incurred the fiercest criticism from reformers, it was precisely on the mass, and its central act, the transubstantiation, that much Catholic defence was concentrated. One aspect of this response was the support given to the *Scuole del Sacramento*, the parish-based confraternities of the Holy Sacrament. These confraternities became agents of orthodoxy to the extent that membership of such a body could preclude suspicions of heresy from religious authorities.³¹

Moretto's Eucharistic Christ confronted Protestant criticisms on two accounts. On the one hand, the use of the category of the altarpiece as such confirmed the function of images as vehicles of didactic, doctrinal messages. Art was here used quite clearly for theological propaganda. On the other hand, the use of the motif with its clear references to the disputed celebration of the mass as a ritual enactment of the sacrificial death of Christ, confirmed the essence of the celebration, that is the Real Presence of Christ in the consecrated species, particularly in the host. As such, Moretto's motif of the Eucharistic Christ was firmly located in the discourse of the Counter Reformation, because the motif

³¹ Black (1989): 322 ff.

was essentially stimulated by opposition to the Catholic doctrine of the mass. Only opposition to what had been accepted doctrine in the preceding centuries made the visualisation of the teaching on the theology of mass necessary. It can therefore be argued that Moretto's altarpieces of the Eucharistic Christ were perfect expressions of a Counter Reformation sentiment, in that the invention and the use of the motif were inextricably linked with the need to react to a Protestant challenge to Catholic tenets of faith. At the same time also, Moretto's depiction of a vision of Christ above an altar confirmed the value of the Forty Hours devotion as an intercessory prayer directly to a God who was present to hear the invocations of the faithful. At one and the same time, Moretto here confirms the value of intercessory prayer as much as the Transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. In both the versions for Marmentino and Castenedolo, this sacrificial nature of Christ's death is also emphasised through reference to the instruments of His Passion. In these images, Moretto's references to theological concepts are precise. A close study of the details of the images will help to gain an insight into the polemical nature of this Christo-centric vision, aimed at promoting the *Quarant'Ore*.

In the Marmentino Eucharistic Christ with Sts. Cosmas and Damian (fig.54), Moretto employs the same compositional scheme as for the contemporary Christ in Glory Consigning the Keys to St. Peter and the Book of Doctrines to St. Paul (fig.32) for the parish church of Rodengo. He divided the image into two separate halves: the lower half depicts the patron saints of the Marmentino parish church, Cosmas and Damian, kneeling in front of a tall, plain marble altar, holding the palm of martyrdom. The upper half is occupied by Christ, who is reclining on a bank of clouds. He is leaning against the cross,

supporting the column of His flagellation with His other hand. He is accompanied by two cherubs who are carrying a golden veil. They are depicted in flight and appear to have lifted the veil off the monstrance that is placed on the centre of the altar table. It is their act which ensures visibility of the monstrance. The host displayed inside the monstrance bears the faint outlines of a picture of the crucifixion. The altar itself is sparsely decorated, covered with a transparent veil interwoven with gold, and, on either side of the monstrance, a beautifully wrought candleholder. Both candles are lit, indicating the presence of Christ. There is no crucifix on the altar table.³² This is unnecessary, as the resurrected Christ Himself is present. Further decoration of the altar is also not necessary, as the most significant display of the altar is the body of Christ Himself. His presence does need to be honoured through the worship of the beholders though. This is demonstrated by the two saints.

Visually, the altar resembles a tomb slab rather than a table, recalling the sacrificial nature of Christ's death. There is also a reference to Christ's request that in the celebration of mass His sacrifice be commemorated and re-enacted. Cosmas and Damian kneel on either side of the marble altar, dressed in splendid red and gold garments. Both brothers are richly dressed, and have an aristocratic, noble bearing about them. They are placed in perfect *contrapposto*, in a pose derived from Leonardo's unfinished St. John the Baptist (Louvre, Paris). Adaptations of the same pose of St. John the Baptist can be found also in the works of, for example, Bernardino Luini and Salai.

The two saints kneel in adoration before the host displayed in the monstrance, which is placed on top of the altar between two lit candles in

³² Gardner (1994): 1-19.

candleholders of intricate craftsmanship. The monstrance which is used to display the host, and the two candleholders next to it, are made from the same materials, that is gold and crystal glass, and this motif is just one of numerous instances in the painting of the employment of pairs. These comprise the pair of saints, the pair of candlesticks, the pair of angels and the pair of instruments of the Passion carried by Christ. Indeed, the entire composition is built up from balancing pairs horizontally. It is thus significant that the only objects/person without an accompaniment horizontally are the host and Christ. Instead, Christ and the host are juxtaposed vertically on the central axis. If one considers the arrangement of the pairs of horizontals, then it becomes possible to read the image as follows: the pair of saints at the bottom of the image have died in imitation of Christ, and for their faith. They point to the altar, and the unveiled monstrance on top of it. The monstrance with the consecrated host, and the two lighted candles on either side affirm the presence of the living Christ. The next pair up is formed by two angels, whose action of lifting the veil has revealed the host to us. And then, at the apex of this composition, is Christ, placed between two instruments of His passion. In fact, it can be argued that these pairs are arranged in such a way as to resemble the rungs of a ladder. The ladder, of course, is a traditional symbol for the spiritual ascent from heaven to earth.³³

Christ Himself is placed in the upper, lunette-shaped part of the altarpiece in a mandorla. Inside the space enveloped by the clouds are only Christ's body, and the instruments of His Passion. His upper body is loosely wrapped in a red cloak that has fallen open to reveal a frontal view of His upper body. The stigmata, though represented, are barely noticeable, and detract in no way from

³³. As such, the ladder appears in Jacob's Dream in Gen 28:12. Also, John 1:51. The ladder is

the ideal beauty of His body. The emphasis is firmly on the wholeness of the body of Christ, with little evidence of blood. Within the altarpiece, this body is depicted twice, once in the vision of Christ above the altar and once in the consecrated communion species. Yet no provision has been made to display or depict His blood. It was the practice of the Catholic Church to offer communion in one kind only, the form of the consecrated host, which explains the stress on the body.³⁴ The emphasis is on the beauty, and the corporeality of the body of Christ, not the pain endured by him. Confirmation of the physical reality of Christ's existence is supplied by Moretto's careful juxtaposition of the soft flesh of Christ with the hard, solid materials of the marble pillar and the wooden cross. The difference between the material essence of stone and wood, and the spiritual essence of the nature of Christ is furthermore emphasised in the treatment of Christ as a luminous body. The metaphysics of a spiritual, luminous body are explained by Hills as 'the power of a luminous body to reveal itself at the same time as it reveals other things'.³⁵ Here, Christ's body, though luminous, is also solid in yet another confirmation of the reality of His presence.

The clouds which limit the space occupied by Christ are employed as spiritual signifiers of an ideal, celestial state of being which has become penetrable to the gaze of the beholder. The motif has a long history of use, and was already employed as a symbol for the manifestation of divine power and the

also one of the instruments of the Passion of Christ.

³⁴ It should also be noted that whereas any consecrated host left over from the taking of communion are preserved and kept in the tabernacle for such purposes as visiting sick parishioners who have been unable to attend the communion service, no such provision exists for the preservation of communion wine. The wine, transubstantiated into the blood of Christ, will be drunk by the priest. The chalice from which he has drunk will be carefully washed and stored away. A communion chalice will be used only for holding the blood of Christ.

³⁵ Hills (1987): 13-14.

presence of God in the Old Testament.³⁶ The function of the clouds in the Marmentino altarpiece is to serve as a line of demarcation between the earthly and the heavenly spheres of the image. The clouds are not represented as meteorological phenomena, but instead, they denote the borderline between the real and the ideal worlds of the altarpiece. Because the clouds have rolled back, Christ's presence has become visible. This motif can be interpreted as a reference to Acts 1:9 where clouds masked Christ's departure from earth; here they have opened up to disclose His presence to the onlooker. In addition, they can also be interpreted as signifiers of the essence of the nature of Christ: the invisible vapour has become visible, and has taken on a tangible existence in a physically circumscribable space, with properties of mass and volume that can be measured and empirically observed. In the same way the invisible has become visible in the figure of Christ, the 'word was made flesh' (John 1:14), and the invisible essence of God has taken on a physical presence in Christ.

In a manner characteristic of much of Moretto's art, complex doctrinal concepts such as the Real Presence of Christ in the consecrated host after the Transubstantiation, have been translated literally into visual imagery.³⁷ In the case of the Marmentino altarpiece, this takes the expression of the depiction of the reclining Christ above the altar, where Moretto has placed Him directly above the monstrance with the consecrated host. The painter further strengthens the direct relation between the host and the figure of Christ through the employment of several devices, which visually link the figure of Christ to the host directly underneath him. Particularly effective as a link is the motif of the greenish-golden veil, edged with gold, which is carried upwards by the two angels

³⁶ Exodus 16:10; Ex 19:9; 1 Kings 8:10-11 (a cloud manifests the presence of Yahweh at the

between the earthly sphere occupied by the monstrance with the host, and the ideal, heavenly sphere of Christ. The upward surge of the angels implies that they have lifted this veil for the benefit of the beholder; the monstrance itself remains covered with a second, transparent veil.

The action of the two angels ensures maximum visibility of Christ. In particular, this vision has appeared to the members of the Marmentino Confraternity of the Corpus Christi, in whose chapel the image was originally displayed.³⁸ The kneeling saints point to the host displayed on the altar, and not to the apparition of Christ directly; the members of the confraternity would have been well aware of the preaching of the church regarding the sacrificial nature of the mass which stated that the Eucharist Christ was physically present in the consecrated species of the communion. Their special devotion to the body of Christ also explains Moretto's emphasis on the depiction of an idealised, near flawless body of Christ.

The complex Eucharistic symbolism of the Marmentino altarpiece has no visual precedents in contemporary Brescian painting, and Moretto's solution is uncharacteristically heavy and laboured. The strict symmetry of the main compositional elements might indicate the use of a cartoon for the main elements of the image. Much of the composition is conceived in terms of *contrapposto* and perfect balance so that for instance Sts. Cosmas and Damian are posed in *contrapposto* at the foot of the altar. The inclination of their heads is the most striking difference between them, for much of their clothing is identical. Similarly, in the case of the representation of the two angels, Moretto reverses their poses, and simply varies the position of their legs.

temple of Jerusalem). God reveals Himself as a pillar of clouds.

The novelty of the motif of the Eucharistic Christ, and the need for a correct interpretation of the image, is also underlined by the use of epigraphy. Carved into the tall marble slab of the altar is the inscription: PANEM/ ANGELORVM/ MANDVCAVIT/ HOMO, 'the bread of the angels guides man', thus spelling out to the beholder how to read and interpret the doctrinal message of the image. 'Panem Angelorum' also refers to Thomas Aquinas' office of the feast day of Corpus Christi, thus referring to the confraternity on whose altar the image was originally displayed. As has already been discussed, the inclusion of inscriptions in images was characteristic of much of Moretto's work in the 1540s.³⁹ The inclusion of inscriptions invited interpretation, and this could usually only be provided by the ordained priest, a concept in direct opposition to the *sola fide* concept of Protestant teaching that defied the need for the priest.⁴⁰

The detail lavished by Moretto on the depiction of this scene also allows for an interpretation of the image as the first depiction of the Eucharistic devotion of the *Quarant'Ore*, or Forty Hours devotion, in Brescian painting. The introduction, and also proliferation of the practice of the *Quarant'Ore* can be seen as a direct reaction of the Catholic Church against Protestant criticisms levelled at a central act of worship. The visuals of the Marmentino altarpiece support this

³⁷ On the Transubstantiation and related theological concepts, see section (2) of the chapter.

³⁸ The altarpiece is now displayed on the High Altar of the Marmentino parish church.

³⁹ In altarpieces of the type of the Eucharistic Christ, Moretto employed quotations in three; four of the five quotations are in Latin and were taken directly from the Bible: Eucharistic Christ with Sts. Cosmas and Damian, Marmentino, parish church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, 1540: PANEM ANGELORVM/ MANDVCAVIT/ HOMO.

Christ consigning the keys to St. Peter and the Book of Doctrine to St. Paul, Rodengo, San Nicola: VT/ POR/ TES// NO MEN/ MEVM (Acts, 9;15).

Christ of the Pasion with David and Solomon, Brescia, SS. Nazaro e Celso, HIC EST/ SANGVIS/ NOVI/ TESTA METI (Matt 26;28); ISTE/ EST/ PANIS QVE DEDIT/ VOBIS DOMINVS/ AD VESCE/ DV (Exodus 16;15); COMEDITE/ AMICI ET/ INEBRIA MINI/ CHARISSI (Song of Songs 5;1).

⁴⁰ In the twenty-third session of the Council of Trent on 15 July, 1563, it was decreed that 'if anyone says that [...] those who have been neither rightly ordained nor sent by ecclesiastical and canonical authority, but come from elsewhere, are lawful ministers of the word and of the sacraments, let him be anathema'; Schroeder (1941): 162-163.

reading of the image as expressive of new devotional tendencies. The monstrance with the host occupies the exact centre of the altarpiece, with nothing distracting the beholder from its contemplation. The actual gold and crystal glass monstrance, designed to allow for maximum visibility of the consecrated host, is framed by candlesticks on either side and a thin, transparent veil which has been placed on top of it. On both sides of the altar, two angels in *contraposto* are represented flying towards the reclining figure of the Eucharistic Christ who rests on a bank of clouds, clutching the cross and the pillar. The two angels have just removed a heavier, golden veil which had been spread over the monstrance, and the veil is lifted towards the figure of Christ who is visible above the altar. The action of the angels thus ensures maximum visibility of the monstrance and the host displayed within it, with their action reflecting a tendency in the sixteenth-century towards greater visibility and more frequent exposition of the Eucharist.⁴¹ The monstrance with the host was usually kept within the tabernacle, and only brought out of the tabernacle during the celebration of the Mass, and for processions. The devotion of the *Quarant'Ore*, however, aimed at maximum visibility and access to the consecrated communion species.

The *Quarant'Ore* developed from the medieval prayers of the *Triduum Sacrum*, that is the period of Forty Hours between the prayers of *Deposito* and *Elevatio*, said respectively on Good Friday and Easter Sunday morning. This Holy Week practice of continuous prayer for forty hours developed into the modern form of the prayer in 1527. Instead of storing away the consecrated host in a monstrance which is then placed within a tabernacle and locked, the host remains exposed to view for forty continuous hours. During this period, a steady

⁴¹ Rubin (1991): 288 ff.

stream of worshippers pray in front of the altar where the host is exposed, addressing their prayers directly to Christ who is present in the transubstantiated communion species. Throughout the forty hours, candles are lit to indicate the presence of Christ. The first such perpetual prayer to be held, has been ascribed to the Milanese Confraternity of the Sacrament of the church of San Sepolcro. The *Quarant'Ore* was held, in an extraordinary move, outside of Holy Week as an expiatory prayer in order to aid the people of Milan in recovering from the atrocities of the war with Charles V.⁴² By 1529, this practice had become established as a regular occurrence outside of Holy Week in the churches of Milan. By 1537, the Forty Hours devotions in Milan had become a perpetual prayer, that is, as soon as the prayer stopped in one church, it was taken up again in another church. From Milan, the custom spread to other centres in Northern and Central Italy, and Giovanni Piantanida da Fermo is accredited with introducing the devotion to Brescia in 1536.⁴³ From there, the practice of the devotion continued to spread, and Philip Neri introduced the custom into Rome in 1550.⁴⁴

One of the earliest written references to the Forty Hours devotion is the description of an English traveller, Gregory Martin, who wrote on his visit to Rome in 1581 that

another marvelous reverence to the same [the Eucharist], much used in the great Cities of Italy, but by the example of Rome, is this, that certayne Companies or Confraternities ... once a month in their Churches, set forth the B. Sacrament with so many lightes, such jewels, and al manner of furniture of tapestrie round about

⁴² On the early history of the Forty Hours devotion see De Santi (1919); Weil (1974): 218-223.

⁴³ Guazzoni (1981): 49; Cistellini (1948): 18.

and on the ground, that it seemeth a glimpse of paradise: and that for fourtie houres continually, during the which time two and two of the Confraternitie from houre to houre ar upon their knees before it in prayer and meditation, and many out of the Citie upon devotion visite that place.⁴⁵

Martin's description of the setting of a Forty Hours devotion complies with instructions issued by Pope Clement VIII on 25 November 1592, who made the *Quarant'Ore* perpetual for Rome. Clement VIII decreed that the devotion was to take place in a darkened chapel, where the altar table was prepared with a tabernacle ready to receive the host, and the host was to be screened from view by a thin silk veil. The decoration of the altar was to be kept simple, and the use of more than six candles and six oil lamps was forbidden.⁴⁶ It seems clear from Martin's description, that Clement's instructions simply confirmed the details of a practice which had already developed. Such details as lit candles, and the screening of the host with thin veils are already recorded by Moretto's altarpieces in Marmentino and Castenedolo. Martin's description of a *Quarant'Ore* devotion in Rome in 1581, and Pope Clement VIII's instructions from 1592 also appear concordant with details of the decoration of the altar in the images.

Moretto's representation of the Eucharistic Christ for the parish church of Marmentino can therefore be identified as possibly the first visual representations of the *Quarant'Ore* which had been introduced to Brescia in 1536.⁴⁷ There were no known visual precedents for this type of image in the town. Promotion of this

⁴⁴ The Roman Forty Hours devotion was held on the first Sunday of each month in the church of S. Salvatore in Campo.

⁴⁵ Quoted in Weil (1974): 221.

⁴⁶ Pope Clement VIII, 'Bullarum diplomaticum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum', IX, Turin, 1857-67, pp. 644-6. Quoted in De Santi (1919): 183ff. and Weil (1974): 222.

⁴⁷ Guazzoni (1981): 49; Cistellini (1948): 18.

practice through the use of detailed imagery in parishes rife with heresy might, however, have established the credibility and value of this new form of expiatory prayer. Promotion of the practice of the Forty Hours devotion was particularly widespread amongst the new Counter Reformation orders such as the Jesuits who started arriving in Brescia in the 1540s.⁴⁸ This patronage of the devotion again confirms the orthodox and combative character of Moretto's motif of the Eucharistic Christ, and explains its association with Donato Savallo and the parishes of Marmentino and Castenedolo.

Despite the artistic shortcomings of the Marmentino altarpiece, Moretto executed a second version of the subject five years later for the parish church at Castenedolo.⁴⁹ Theologically, the Eucharistic Christ with Sts. Bartholomew and Roch (fig. 55) is identical in content to the Marmentino altarpiece of 1540, yet artistically the second version is a more competent painting than the earlier version. The altarpiece is based on the same compositional scheme of division of the canvas into two halves, with two suppliant saints adoring the host, yet the emotional relationship between the saints and the apparition of the living Christ above the altar has been resolved more successfully. The two saints now look directly at the vision of the Saviour, and the cumbersome symbolism of the Marmentino altarpiece, which directed the gaze of the beholder to the host and from the contemplation of the mystery of the host to a recognition of the living Christ within the sacrament of the Eucharist, has been avoided. The Castenedolo Eucharistic Christ has been further simplified through the omission of the pair of flying angels. In the Marmentino version they had served as intermediaries between the earthly and the heavenly spheres. In the later Castenedolo version,

⁴⁸ Cistellini (1948): 18ff.

the upper half of the canvas is occupied by Christ only, who this time is represented frontally, and only half-length. His arms are spread, and the stigmata, though displayed, are again understated, and do not distract from the ideal beauty of His body. The apparition of Christ has also been brought closer to the monstrance on the altar. The result of this is a more intense, and less remote relation between the adoring saints and the figure of Christ.

The emphasis on the luminous nature of the body of Christ is even more noticeable than in the earlier Marmentino Eucharistic Christ. Here, Christ is quite literally represented as the 'light of the world' (Matt 5:14). The scene of the adoring saints is set in an evocative twilight, with the only sources of light in the altarpiece being the luminous body of Christ and two half-burnt candles on the altar table. Moretto's depiction of the candles is meticulous in its attention to detail; the candles appear to have been lit for a long time, which may be interpreted as an indication to the length of time the saints have spent in adoration. Moretto has also given the saints an air of weariness. St Roch's pose in particular conveys discomfort at prolonged kneeling on a stone floor. He has taken off one shoe, and kneels on the loosened stocking of his right leg, supporting himself on his pilgrim's staff. This is another reference to the practice of the *Quarant'Ore* or Forty Hours devotion.

The Castenedolo altarpiece of the Eucharistic Christ with Sts. Bartholomew and Roch (fig.55) is still *in situ*, and located on the second altar at the right of the church, the altar dedicated to the Holy Sacrament. Indeed, in the altarpiece itself, Moretto referred to the relation of the altar of the Holy Sacrament to the High Altar of the Church, where the tabernacle with the host

⁴⁹ Guazzoni (1981): 49-50; Begni Redona (1988): 406-407.

was located. The flickering of the flame of the candles is the only indication of movement in the altarpiece, and the direction of it is towards the High Altar. The point of reference within the altarpiece then was the actual location of the High Altar in the church of Castenedolo, where the consecrated host was, in accordance with Catholic practices, kept in a tabernacle. Within the tabernacle, which held the consecrated hosts, Christ himself was present in the Eucharistic species of the host, and he needed to be adequately honoured. The altarpiece itself was conceived as a reminder of the Real Presence of Christ in the very same church, in the tabernacle placed on the High Altar, and it thus reminded the members of the confraternity of the Sacrament in Castenedolo of their obligation to care for the sacrament properly.

The polemical nature of the altarpieces was particularly suited for making a strong statement of orthodoxy in a region where heresy was rife. The explicitness of the commissions for Castenedolo and Marmentino is greater than in works executed for the more sophisticated market in the city itself, where the motif was toned down, if indeed it was employed at all. For Castenedolo and Marmentino, Moretto's versions concentrate on the depiction of the living presence of Christ on the altar. The message is direct and simple. Later versions of the subject, though, depicted a more meditative Christ in Passion. While the subject is similar, the latter is a more pathetic motif that focuses on the display of the wounds and the suffering of Christ.⁵⁰ Both types of imagery appeal to the senses and emotions of the beholder and can be referred to as affective religious imagery.⁵¹ In this emotive appeal, the Eucharistic Christ differs from the works

⁵⁰ For a study on the devotion to the Five Wounds of Christ in England, see Pfaff (1970).

⁵¹ This tendency found its clearest expression in the popularity of texts of the *devotio moderna*, especially Thomas à Kempis' Imitation of Christ, but also in the teaching of the new orders.

Moretto executed for San Pietro in Oliveto. There, works such as the Virgin and Child in Glory with St. John the Evangelist, the Blessed Lodovico Giustiniani and the Allegory of Divine Wisdom (figs.39; 40) speak of the quiet conviction of orthodoxy and unswerving loyalty to the teachings of the Catholic Church carried by the Canons. The Eucharistic Christ was intended to reach out to an entirely different audience of laymen and laywomen in a region where heretical movements abounded, and statements of faith had to be direct, intense and clear. In the establishment of the Eucharistic Christ, Moretto faced the challenge of creating a realistic and literal depiction of a complex theological concept. This new type of imagery was used as a means of promoting a new devotional practice, the Forty Hours devotion. Apart from explaining the practice, the Eucharistic Christ also served to promote the devotion, and introduced the example of the worshipping saints as a model of behaviour for laymen to emulate. In this, Moretto's work is symptomatic of problems encountered by a number of Counter Reformation artists trying to reconcile diametrically opposed demands made on their art. On the one hand, the painters were expected to base their representations on nature, and on true models, yet, on the other hand, the very content of their religious images was illustrative of complex, abstract concepts of a transcendent and spiritual nature. Moretto's solution to the problem was to employ a compositional model, one supplied in particular by Titian's Frari Assumption of the Virgin.

The discussion in the previous chapters focused on the ways in which a specific group of patrons could attempt to achieve a sense of visual identity and unity through the choice of a painter and subject matter for the decoration of its

Ignatius Loyola's Spiritual Exercises were written as early as 1522-23, and are a very early

churches. The same method for achieving visual unity through a reliance on and the employment of a familiar style, could also be used in order to familiarise the beholder with new motifs, and new pictorial types that were assembled from elements of well-known imagery. The development of a new motif of pictorial imagery goes through recognisable stages of assimilation, and the motif then becomes absorbed into the repertoire of categories and stocktypes of images already familiar to the beholders. As such, the process of evolution of a new motif is not dependent on the creation of a discourse with the beholder, but it can be assumed that the discourse is a familiar one, and that the beholder will be able to integrate the new motif into already well established discourses with other motifs.⁵²

In the case of the motif of the Eucharistic Christ, this process can be traced to precedents in Venetian painting, and in particular, it harks back to the tradition of the Mass of St. Gregory and other Eucharistic miracles. As has been demonstrated by Cope in The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament in the Sixteenth-century, the image of a living Christ represented on altarpieces such as the Resurrection Polyptych of Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna for the San Tarasio Chapel of San Zaccaria, Venice, derived directly from representations of the Mass of St. Gregory.⁵³ The apparition of the living Christ (or, as in Voragine's version in the Golden Legend, a finger of Christ) in the consecrated species of the communion, served as a reminder of the Real Presence of Christ in the celebration of the Mass.⁵⁴

example of affective religion.

⁵² Baxandall (1985); Freedberg (1989); Fernie (1995): 357-358.

⁵³ Cope (1979): 65-67.

⁵⁴ Jacobus de Voragine (1993): 179-180.

The representation of a living Christ was reserved for the depiction of altarpieces. Amongst the most frequent locations for a living Christ were the upper register of a traditional Gothic polyptych, or the centre of a predella. In both cases, the living Christ was usually represented on the central axis of the altarpiece. This has to be seen in the context of the ritual of gestures accompanying the celebration of mass: after the consecration, the priest raises the host above his head. This gesture occurs while the priest stands behind the altar and in front of the altarpiece. For the beholder watching the celebration of mass, the raising of the host places the consecrated species within the altarpiece, and the contemporary celebration witnessed at that moment becomes set against the historical narrative visualised behind the altar. This direct interaction between the image and the ritual contributes a dimension of meaning to the altarpiece that is difficult to capture if one perceives the altarpiece as a static decorative addition to the altar. Instead, the altarpiece needs to be viewed and interpreted in the context of the rituals taking place in front of it.

The move towards the fashionable tall, arched *pale* of sixteenth-century Venetian painting, as well as the adoption of new techniques, made it possible to rethink the content of altarpieces. Where before the restrictions of the tempera technique, and of the carpentry for the support, had limited the size of individual fields of painting, the introduction of canvas as a support, and oil as a new binding medium, now allowed for large-scale panels.⁵⁵

At the same time, as is illustrated in Humfrey's survey of The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice, the character of the representations in the fields of painting evolved from the iconic quality of the isolated figures of saints in the

⁵⁵ See the seminal article by Gardner von Teuffel (1979): 323-345.

Gothic polyptychs, to the narrative and dynamic *pale* that became popular in the first half of the sixteenth-century.⁵⁶

Altarpieces became very effective vehicles for the dissemination of doctrine, the illustration of exemplary behaviour and the telling of sacred stories. In many fifteenth-century altarpieces, the multitude of panels that made up a Gothic polyptych relegated the representation of Christ to the lunette above the main field of painting, or to the predella below the main panel. With the introduction of larger fields of painting subject matter changed to include a larger variety of topics.

Artistically, the tall, arched *pale* presented some initial problems in filling the available space. This difficulty of filling the void in the upper half of the altarpiece can be observed, for example, in Cima da Conegliano's Incredulity of St. Thomas (Venice, Accademia, ca. 1504). This problem was soon resolved through the adaptation of the Central Italian motif of the Virgin *in nubibus*. The most successful use of this motif occurs in Titian's early altarpiece of the Assumption of the Virgin for the Franciscan basilica of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari of 1518. Humfrey describes the impact of Titian on altarpiece design as crucial for developments of the genre, and states that

with their energetic and heroically proportioned figures complemented by an equally bold and dramatic use of light and colour, Titian's altarpieces [...] do not merely exhibit a highly innovative pictorial style; they also mark a change in the very nature of the relationship between the sacred image and the worshipper. [...]

⁵⁶ Humfrey (1993): 217-229; 259-262.

In this respect they were well calculated to appeal to the very different religious climate of the age of the Reformation and Counter Reformation.⁵⁷

Titian's depiction of the Virgin standing on a bank of clouds is in itself an adaptation of the familiar type of the Virgin *in nubibus*, a type of imagery revived by Raphael and Fra Bartolommeo at the beginning of the sixteenth-century.⁵⁸

In the Frari Assumption of the Virgin, Titian has divided his panel into three distinctive bands or levels, with the apostles occupying the bottom third of the image. The Virgin, captured in transit between levels, is represented in the middle, and the very top of the image is filled by a representation of God and two angels. This compositional scheme, of allocating different spheres within the image hierarchically to the various protagonists, supplied Moretto with his favourite device of dividing the canvas into an upper and a lower half, with the latter occupied by a variety of saints, and the upper half harbouring a vision of the Virgin and Child. In the same way, he adapted his motif of the Eucharistic Christ from the very same prototype, Titian's Assumption of the Virgin. This time, however, Moretto replaced Titian's mariological vision with a christo-centric version

This adaptation of Titian's model introduces a further dimension into the discussion. The model employed by Moretto, of a two-partite division of the canvas into spheres allows for a mode of narration where the upper half of the canvas represents a reality different from the one in the lower half. Indeed, the actions of the figures in the lower half can be explained through a vision depicted

⁵⁷ (Humphrey, 1993, 301).

⁵⁸ Chastel (1990): 129-142.

in the upper half, a method of narration which became very popular for much religious art produced in the second half of the sixteenth-century. Moretto's Eucharistic Christ employed this model as early as the 1540s. Because of its artificiality and surface elegance, his art can be characterised as Mannerist. Voss remarked that in the sixteenth-century 'painting evolved from a serene, untroubled naturalism into the austere deliberateness of the High Renaissance, and on into an unnatural, reflective, and artificial system of formal effects', a tendency which affected the evolution of new types of iconography substantially.⁵⁹ The same point was laboured by Wölfflin, who stated that 'Renaissance art is the art of calm and beauty. The beauty it offers us has a liberating influence, and we apprehend it as a general sense of well being and a uniform enhancement of vitality. Its creations are perfect: they reveal nothing forced or inhibited, uneasy or agitated'.⁶⁰

Moretto's Eucharistic Christ was a direct reaction to a religious situation which was agitated, nervous and tense; some of these tensions come through in his altarpieces, but essentially, the style and composition of the image harked back to more traditional models. It can be argued that his style reflects precisely the attitudes of patrons such as the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga in general, and Donato Savallo in particular. Their outlook was an essentially conservative one, and the ordered hierarchy and serene beauty of Moretto's images perfectly captured this mood. The importance of this particular group in shaping a visual identity for Brescia has been highlighted in this study. This reflected their essentially Counter reformation concerns in the period prior to Trent.

⁵⁹ Voss (1997): 25.

The role of religious imagery as a support to religious teaching has been examined, by scholars such as Rudolf Wittkower with reference to developments after the conclusion of the Council of Trent in 1563.⁶¹ As such, the recommendations of St. Charles Borromeo, Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, Molanus and Gilio da Fabriano, to name just the most prominent writers on imagery in the later sixteenth-century, have come to dominate the discussion of imagery after 1550. The same line of argument has also been pursued by Freedberg, who stressed the links between what he terms the 'Counter Maniera' and the Counter Reformation:

this Counter Maniera is recognisable as an expression in a style of art of a temper we identify with the cultural and religious movement of the Counter Reformation. As that temper was more clearly and pervasively defined from the mid-century onward [...] Counter Maniera came to be an apposite expressive instrument for aspects of the thought and feeling of the Counter Reformation.⁶²

Freedberg does, however, concede that there were expressions of this 'cultural and religious movement of the Counter Reformation' prior to the middle of the sixteenth-century, and it can be argued that Moretto's motif of the Eucharistic Christ was one of these expressions. If one thus concedes that Moretto's Eucharistic Christ has to be included in the critical discourse of writings on Counter Reformation art, then the significance of the motif in the wider context of Northern Italian trends in *Cinquecento* painting of the middle of the-century becomes apparent. It then also becomes justifiable to speak of manifestations in

⁶⁰ Wölfflin (1964): 38.

⁶¹ Wittkower (1958): 21-23.

⁶² Freedberg (1971): 429.

art of imagery belonging to a period of an early Counter Reformation, that is, prior to the 1560's and 1570's. Not only has this period of time been famously neglected in critical works - Voss's remark in 1920 on the 'general low estimation of the entire period' of the early and mid-sixteenth-century still holds true- but furthermore, the artists of provincial centres like Brescia have been neglected, too.⁶³

This lack of scholarly interest reflects the marginalised position of the study of non-canonical Northern Italian artists such as Moretto whose pictorial inventions, such as the motif of the Eucharistic Christ have been considered as artistic expressions of local significance only. If, on the other hand, the motif of the Eucharistic Christ is no longer considered in the isolation of the local context, but it is examined, instead, in the wider context of Counter Reformation developments, the motif becomes indicative of a change in the religious atmosphere around the 1540s. Already prior to the Council of Trent, and its famous decree on religious imagery in 1563, religious art had become a means of promoting articles of faith, and as such these images were subject to stringent needs for orthodoxy of content.⁶⁴ It then also becomes possible to see these images as yet another way of expressing a certain local identity, as Moretto's work was concentrated in and around Brescia. It has been mentioned that the artist was a prominent member of several confraternities, and moved in the highest circles of the church in Brescia. In this, he was in the very middle of the most pressing debates concerning the identity of the Roman Catholic Church and Brescia to date.

⁶³ Voss (1997): 5.

⁶⁴ Schroeder (1941): 215-217.

The invention and dissemination of the motif of the Eucharistic Christ belongs to the theological discourse of the Counter Reformation, yet, at the same time, the examination of this one 'micro' motif in the repertoire of Moretto serves as a valid exemplar of 'macro' developments both in the œuvre of Moretto, as well as the wider contexts of Brescian painting and spirituality. Moretto's motif of the Eucharistic Christ can thus be seen to be not only expressive of general Counter Reformation tendencies within the Catholic Church, but, more specifically, the use of the motif in altarpieces connected with Donato Savallo, and local confraternities of the Holy Sacrament, illuminates spiritual movements within Brescia. The promotion of confraternities of the Sacrament in order to encourage more frequent communion, and to ensure the proper care of the sacrament, was one of the ways in which the Catholic Church reacted to the Protestant challenge to the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist. Indeed, the Protestant denial of the bodily presence of Christ in the consecrated host questioned the reason for the very existence of confraternities dedicated to the care of the sacrament.⁶⁵

In conclusion, it can be argued that Moretto's Eucharistic Christ remained, as a motif, linked to the group of patrons highlighted in this chapter. The significance of this motif lies therefore in its use as a means of religious teaching in a particular decade, and amongst a clearly definable group of patrons in Brescia. It captures their beliefs, and as such provides valuable insights into their artistic preferences. This discussion helps to reassign a new place for Moretto in the context of art historical discussion. He might have relied heavily on the repetition of tried and tested compositional schemes, yet was nevertheless

⁶⁵ For a brief introduction on the history of the care of the sacrament: Cope (1979): 8-25.

an artist at the cutting edge of theological discussions. Indeed, what a modern beholder might conceive of as a lack of originality in many of his altarpieces, was the quality his sixteenth-century patrons treasured most. Moretto's main contribution to Brescian art of the sixteenth-century was the provision of a recognisable, distinctive and attractive style, which was easily adapted to the particular needs of each patron. His art was reliably orthodox, and his figures were well executed and beautiful. His workshop was large enough to cope with the commissions he was flooded with, and competent in portraiture as well as religious art. His continued association with a very particular circle of wealthy and orthodox patron meant that, ultimately, it was Moretto's art that came to epitomise Brescian sixteenth-century visual identity.

Conclusion

Works of art [...] are not closed, self-contained and transcendent entities, but are the product of specific historical practices on the part of identifiable social groups in given conditions, and therefore bear the imprint of ideas, values and conditions of existence of those groups, and their representatives in particular artists.¹

¹ Wolff (1981) 49

At the outset of this study it was stated that the key aim was to establish how Romanino and Moretto defined a Brescian identity in art. It was argued that there were two different approaches possible in order to examine the existence and the manifestations of such a local identity. One was to look at groups of corporate patrons and to consider the works executed for them in terms of similarities of content. To that end, discussion of works in this study was limited to religious works, and, within that broad category mainly altarpieces, in order to ensure that the works examined were comparable. The second approach was to highlight subject matter of local topicality and significance. The subject chosen for this was that of the Eucharist. Both approaches taken together have made it possible to consider a number of characteristics of Brescian art in general by placing the art produced by Romanino and Moretto between 1510 and 1550 into the wider context of developments of the Counter Reformation. To this end, a chronology of works and events has been provided.

This discussion of a Brescian visual identity has allowed a consideration of the relationship between the provincial, peripheral centres of Northern Italy, and their political and ecclesiastical overlords. As the case of Brescia has shown, these might well be different, requiring divergent visual strategies to be adopted in both cases. In addition, it has been possible, through a close examination of several examples of representations of the Eucharistic Christ (figs. 54;55) to consider the development of a new Counter Reformation motif in art. This discussion also served to investigate the particular nature of Counter Reformation attitudes prevalent amongst a group of orthodox patrons who shared an association with the Augustinian Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga. In Chapter Five, the case of Donato Savallo, procurator and Prior General of the

Order was studied as an example of these patrons' preoccupation with orthodoxy. The favourite painter of this group of patrons was Moretto who succeeded in fashioning a recognisable visual identity for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga. His characteristic compositional device of dividing the canvas into two distinctive zones was well suited to the demand for a translation of complex theological doctrines into altarpieces. Moretto appealed to a group of patrons who chose not to employ his competitor Romanino on a regular basis. It has been argued that it was the vision of the circle of patrons linked with the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga that decisively shaped a Brescian sixteenth-century visual identity. It is noteworthy that to this day, it is their vision that prevails in discussions of Brescian painting.

In comparing the output of Moretto and Romanino, it has been found that a consideration of their works with reference to available artistic points of reference, such as most notably the work of Venetian painters and especially Titian, alone does not suffice in accounting for the essential stylistic differences between them. Rather, in accordance with the nature of their commissions, the painters could supply dramatically different images. This applies in particular to Romanino, whose style veered between extremes of expressivity and High Renaissance classicism from commission to commission, often in dependence on the nature of the medium employed. It is here that the importance of patronage as one of the main factors shaping the appearance of works produced in sixteenth-century Brescia has been considered.

The success of a visual identity has to be measured by examining the subsequent critical fortunes of the two painters. Moretto was (and still is) celebrated as the pious and intellectual painter seminally engaged in the religious

life of his native town. From Vasari's Vite onwards, frequent comparisons have been drawn between him and Raphael. Indeed, local (seventeenth-century) writers first exalted Moretto's life and work, setting him up as the 'Brescian Raphael'.² Moretto has been celebrated for his 'accenno morale e religioso inserito ad arte', while Romanino is either largely overlooked or slighted.³ According to seventeenth-century writers, it is through the art of Moretto that the image of a Brescia Beata, a Brixia Sacra was constructed.⁴ Faino's lead in celebrating Moretto's art as the epitome of Brescian spirituality is taken up by other seventeenth-century writers who extolled Moretto's art in their guidebooks to Brescian churches.⁵ The important point to be made here is one concerning the Brescian perception of their own identity as one best expressed through the medium of religious art, and especially through the art of Moretto. In particular, this emphasises the importance of the group of patrons who shaped much of Moretto's art in the 1540s. It is primarily these great works associated with the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga that have earned Moretto his place as Brescia's most exalted sixteenth-century painter. Ample evidence for this statement can be found in looking at monuments erected to the painter's memory: today, a statue of Moretto 'il sommo pittore Bresciano', stands on the square outside the Pinacoteca Tosio-Martinengo. This statue was erected in 1898 on the occasion of the celebrations of Moretto's 400th birthday. The *Ateneo* of Brescia

² The comparison between Raphael and Moretto is first introduced by Vasari who credits Moretto as a painter whose 'le teste di mano di costui sono vivissime, e tengono della maniera di Raffaello da Urbino, e più ne terrebbero se non fusse da lui stato tanto lontano'. Le Vite. Vita di Benvenuto Garofalo e di Girolamo da Carpi pittori ferraresi e d'altri lombardi, 1568, pp.505-506.

³ Guazzoni (1981):7.

⁴ The seminal text for the construction and celebration of a Brescia Sacra is Bernardo Faino's Brescia Beata, BQB, ms. E.I.2.3.4 from 1666-90, or Faino's own Catalogo delle Chiese, Brescia, 1666-90 and Pitture nelle chiese di Brescia, BQB, ms. E.I.10, 1630-1669..

⁵ See for example Averoldo (1700).

had collected the monies needed for the erection of the statue.⁶ In addition, the Via del Moretto was called after the painter, yet the same honour has not been extended towards Romanino. The 'Via del Romanino' is a leaflet published by the Brescian Tourist Board advertising a bus trip up the Val Camonica. The leaflet was published in 1998. No monument or road celebrates the achievements of Romanino.⁷

Romanino has traditionally been disadvantaged in the literature. There are few documents relating to his life, his religious convictions have been questioned, much of his work has met with rejection and the anecdotes known and transmitted about him hardly convey the image of a high-minded and spiritual artist. Instead, what scant documentation survives depicts Romanino as a spirited and even difficult artist, which is in stark contrast to the personality which emerges from the documents regarding Moretto.⁸ What emerges from an examination of references to Romanino and Moretto in local writings is the clear championing of Moretto. Romanino's critical perception was substantially different, and his contribution to the creation of a Brescian visual identity has always been neglected. A good example of this tendency is Lomazzo's Trattato dell'Arte de la Pittura from 1584 where Romanino is mentioned but his greatest merit is that of painting still life and genre:

⁶ Passamani (1988c): 16-28.

⁷ Another indication of the much higher critical esteem extended towards Moretto in his native town is the spate of publications that celebrated Moretto's 400th birthday in 1898/1899. These are just some of the titles which appeared: Gozzoli (1898); Molmenti (1898); Papa (1898): 7-40; Ricordo del Sommo Pittore Bresciano: Alessandro Bonvicino soprannominato Il Moretto, Brescia, 1898; Sgulmero (1899); slightly earlier is Odorici (1858). There is no comparable outpouring of scholarship on Romanino.

⁸ An entry in the 1939 exhibition catalogue on Brescian Painting is a good example for the continuing differences in scholarly treatment of the two Brescian painters: 'Altro carattere ha il Moretto, altro temperamento di artista. Quanto [Romanino] era vivace e impetuoso tanto questi è

Girolamo Romanino et il Bassano espressero eccellentemente gl'animali, e sotto l'acqua i ranocchi, e le figure dal mezzo in giù diverse da quelle istesse che stavano di sopra, mostrando la sua tortuosità, e parimenti tutte le altre parti che a paesi si convengono.⁹

Romanino's often eccentric and crude figures were most characteristically executed in fresco (a medium, incidentally, mostly shunned by Moretto) which display extremes of emotions. In their expressivity, they are a far cry from the serenely beautiful, sophisticated figures produced by his Brescian colleague Moretto. Their audience is therefore different; Romanino's appeal to the more popular element of the imagination is consistent with observations made by scholars such as Alessandro Nova who has attempted the establishment of an alternative macaronic tradition in northern Italian art. Nova's treatment of Romanino differs markedly from earlier studies in that he associates the artist with a specifically Northern Italian artistic phenomenon; rather than writing about his 'shortcomings' as an artist, he credits Romanino with adherence to the highly intellectual and avant-garde movement of anti-classicism, and warns against an interpretation of the artist as 'popular' and crude:

E forse risulta inevitabile anche il passo successivo, quello che lo porta ad essere considerato come un cantore del mondo dei derelitti e dei diseredati. Tuttavia, il Romanino non fu mai un pittore popolaresco e il suo umore anticlassico non va confuso con una parlata rusticana: ed è tanto più irragionevole tentare di interpretare i suoi atteggiamenti di fronda come una solidale partecipazione al mondo e alle sofferenze degli umili. Il vero dramma dell'artista non si consumò a

meditativo e composto, la sua bontà è serena, dolce, pacata sino a dare l'impressione talvolta di una certa freddezza'. La Pittura Bresciana del Rinascimento, exhibit. cat., Brescia, 1939, p. 14.

⁹ Lomazzo (1584): 409.

questo livello, bensì nel dilemma formale fra l'adesione ai modelli aulici giorgionesco-tizianeschi e il rifiuto o il distacco da quella tradizione, una tensione prolungata e lacerante che costituì la linfa vitale della sua arte.¹⁰

Some of these characteristics are comparable to Lotto's work. And like Lotto, Romanino's art has started to attract more attention in the twentieth-century than was awarded to the artists in their own century.

The critical history of Romanino and Moretto and the celebration or suppression of their contributions by their communities also deserves further consideration. Any such discussion revolves around the writings of Giorgio Vasari (1511-74). His seminal position within the development of art criticism has been unanimously acknowledged. With the publication of the two editions of Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori in 1550 and 1568 respectively, the architect and painter from Arezzo set the precedent for the writing of art history in terms of biography.¹¹ Vasari's choice of employing 'biography as a means of providing historical explanation' has undoubtedly conditioned the approach taken by most later art critics. This legacy of Vasari's still haunts the discussion of sixteenth-century artists.¹² The case of Brescia supports this in that Vasari barely recorded the name of Romanino, yet praised Moretto, thus setting a precedent for future discussions of both artists. It is noteworthy, that Vasari's praise was couched in such terms that Moretto's success was associated with the sweetness of his art and character, whereas Romanino has been constructed as a bizarre and eccentric outsider. The character of their art

¹⁰ Nova (1994a): 35-36. The literature on this subject is summed up in Nova (1994b): 664-679.

¹¹ Vasari, G., Le Vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori, ed. Milanesi, G., Florence, 1906.

¹² Fernic (1995): 23

has become synonymous with their personal convictions in much the same way as critics have reacted to Caravaggio (see discussion below).

In the course of this study it has also become apparent in the comparison of these two provincial painters, that they had choices available to them and the opportunity of practising in alternative styles has been one of the most valuable findings of this study.¹³ This returns the reader once more to the question raised in the Introduction of the general validity and usefulness of findings on a provincial centre. While some of the particulars of this examination are not valid beyond the confines of Brescian scholarship, the pattern which has become established in this study is one where religious art was used as one of the means of defining and establishing a local identity which projected beyond the religious to comprise the social and political identities of the patrons of the images, and thus also of their town. The methods by which such an identity was established and then maintained have been most clearly traceable in the commissions extended to the artists by corporate patrons such as most notably the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga which was discussed in Chapter Three. Here, one Congregation selected Moretto to fashion a visual identity for them which was widely copied and perpetuated even after the death of the painter. These patterns, though, might be traceable in other centres beyond Brescia.

Any examination of religious imagery in the sixteenth-century needs to acknowledge the seminal changes brought about by the Reformation. The Catholic Church had to redefine its teaching in response to the challenges manifested in Germany concerning basic tenets of faith that had shaped expressions of faith throughout the Middle Ages. Popular devotional practices

¹³ This has been confirmed by recent scholarship on Dosso Dossi: see the discussion of Dossi's Costabili Polyptych (1513) in the Introduction.

had come to be questioned as much as official teaching, and traditional manifestations of faith such as the belief in the intercessory function of the saints, the cult of relics, pilgrimages, the cult of the Virgin Mary, and especially the sacramental system were challenged and even abandoned by the Protestant reformers. Having to redefine and strengthen its position, the response of the Catholic Church was the promotion of the dogmas most under attack in teaching, preaching and decoration of the churches; in particular altarpieces commissioned in the early Sixteenth-century take up issues widely discussed and under attack. While there were no official rules or guidelines governing the content of the imagery produced in the first half of the Cinquecento, images were nevertheless expected to act as devotional aids and means of education for the laity, acting as vehicles for the visual expression of immediate devotional and social concerns. The Church was constructing its canon of imagery to support its own interests, and these concerns of the official church, in Brescia's case, of the archdiocese of Milan, were constructed precisely through religious commissions given by individuals. Through their acts of patronage, these individuals helped shape the image of the church projected in the churches of the town, at the same time as advancing notions of an identity which projected beyond the religious. Adherence to the Catholic faith carried less political significance in Italy than it did in countries across the Alpine barrier, but the pro-active approach to the extirpation of heresy adopted in Brescia was as significant for the construction of an identity as the positively pro-papal statements present in much of the work executed for the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga. The political significance carried by religious imagery goes a long way towards explaining the stylistic differences between Romanino and Moretto: the latter's calm, dignified creations

left no room for doubt, yet Romanino's disturbingly expressive images were no easy and untroubled affirmation of dogmas. Instead, Romanino questioned existing hierarchies, and rather than being the less perceptive artist of the two, he was the more perceptive, and more engaged artist, and observation borne out by Romanino's experimentation with the anti-classical idiom.

Again, it is telling how a difference in the category of images, as well as the media employed, affected Moretto and Romanino. Moretto was the painter more comfortable with the tightness and focused meaning of altarpieces, painting wonderfully still and dignified images, conjuring up an ideal world of beauty and perfection, whereas Romanino's most expressive- and arguably best- works are the fresco cycles (executed for small communities in the Val Camonica, giving free reign to his imagination) and organ shutters, whose mixed technique of tempera on panel was again suited to the fluidity and fervour of Romanino's style of working. However, the painter found himself pushed to the periphery of orthodoxy as efforts increased to impose a uniform iconography.

Finally, the importance of discussion would be incomplete without highlighting the importance of Caravaggio. Few artists have reached the same notoriety as Michelangelo Merisi (1571-1610), known as Caravaggio. Seventeenth-century art critics reviled him as either an artist who had 'destroyed the art of painting' (Baglione, 1642), or, equally critically, 'just as certain herbs produce both beneficial medicine and most pernicious poison, in the same way, though he produced some good, Caravaggio has been most harmful and wrought havoc with every ornament and good tradition of painting' (Bellori, 1672)¹⁴ Susinno's assessment of Caravaggio is in the same vein, but he wrote of the

Lombard as not only an artistic rebel, but also as a religious dissenter: 'apart from his profession, Caravaggio also went about questioning our holy religion, for which he was accused of being a disbeliever'.¹⁵ This negative perception of Caravaggio prevailed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth-century, and his rediscovery has been a twentieth-century phenomenon. Indeed, the very same painter's critical fortunes revived dramatically and he has been hailed in a famous passage by Ellis Waterhouse as so significant 'that his place in the history of civilisation lies somewhere in importance between Aristotle and Lenin'.¹⁶ The sheer volume of publications on this artist in recent years has been astounding, yet one fundamental problem concerning the study of Caravaggio remains scarcely treated. This is the question of the origins of his art in Lombard sixteenth-century painting.

The difficulty with this area of study lies in the fact that no works attributable to Caravaggio before ca. 1590 have been securely identified, so that a discussion of the artistic development of the artist remains largely hypothetical. One comparison which can be made is with Dosso Dossi, whose early chronology faces substantial revisions after the discovery of documents for the Costabili Polyptych (fig. 7) in 1994. Caravaggio scholars still await a comparably fortuitous discovery, yet the last scholar to seriously address the

¹⁴ Giovanni Baglione, Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti..., Rome, 1642 and Giovanni Pietro Bellori, Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni, Rome, 1672. Quoted in: Hibbard, H., Caravaggio, London, 1988, pp.355, 372-373.

¹⁵ Francesco Susinno, Le vite de' pittori messinesi, Messina, 1724. Quoted in: Hibbard, H., Caravaggio, London, 1988, p.386.

¹⁶ The passage is worth quoting in full:

So much fancy ink has been spilled about Caravaggio in the last thirty-five years, and he has been credited with roles of such extravagant importance in the history of art (not all of them mutually compatible), that his true quality is very hard to discern and the innocent reader of art-historical literature could be forgiven for supposing that his place in the history of civilisation lies somewhere in importance between Aristotle and Lenin

question of Caravaggio's Lombard precedents was Roberto Longhi in the first half of this century. His two essays, 'Quesiti Caravaggeschi' and 'Cose Bresciane del Cinquecento' proved groundbreaking in placing Caravaggio's origins firmly in the context of Northern Italian painting, and in defining some of the characteristics of this art. Scholarship on Caravaggio's origins has advanced little since then, though, and this is partly due to the fact that few studies concerned themselves with aiming to arrive at a definition of the particular nature of the influences coming to bear on Caravaggio's early development. At the age of 13, on 6 April 1584, Caravaggio was apprenticed to Simone Peterzano, a Bergamask painter of some standing in Milan, who had been associated with Titian, and proudly signed himself as 'Simon Peterzanus Titiani Alunnus'.¹⁷ Caravaggio did probably stay with Peterzano until at least 1587. Again, in the absence of any works from this period associated with Caravaggio, some indication as to his early sources and influences can, however, be gained from Peterzano's own stylistic development throughout these years. The most striking change in Peterzano's art was his tendency in the 1580s to produce more introspective, and pious works, a tendency which can be reconciled with characteristics of Caravaggio's mature Roman works, such as for example the Madonna of Loreto, ca. 1603-1606 (fig. 56) for the church of Sant'Agostino. Peterzano certainly fell under the spell of Charles Borromeo's attempts at reform in the plague-stricken Milan of the 1580s. The increased religious fervour of Peterzano's work is in keeping with contemporary works produced in Milan, and it seems fair to assume that the young Caravaggio was influenced by these conditions.

Waterhouse (1962): 21.

¹⁷ Langdon (1998): 22-23.

Langdon comments that 'in Lombardy there had long been a tradition of naturalistic religious art that resisted the idealisations of central Italy, and from the late 1570s and early 1580s this was given new vigour by the Counter Reformation need for a devout art that should inspire intense piety'¹⁸ In the context of this 'long tradition of naturalistic religious art', the names most frequently evoked are those of Vincenzo and Antonio Campi of Cremona, Tintoretto and the Bassani, and the 'Brescians': Savoldo, Romanino and Moretto. Longhi in particular highlighted the importance of the Brescians, and at least some degree of familiarity with their art to Caravaggio can be safely assumed. Examples of Brescian paintings could be found in Milan, and Brescia itself could be reached from Milan easily within a day. Furthermore, if Caravaggio did indeed go to Venice, as has long been assumed, his journey would have taken him through Brescia which, in the 1580s, was a wealthy and bustling provincial centre, which had enough to offer to the travelling artist to make him stop and have a look. Certainly this was one of Longhi's assumptions, that Caravaggio had first hand experience of some of the works produced by Romanino and Moretto, and especially of the works produced for the Chapel of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista (see chapter 4). Yet what has been markedly absent in studies on the visual influences on the young Caravaggio, is a sustained examination of precisely what Lombard elements emerge in his mature Roman works, and what elements do not appear. In order to do that, scholars of the young Caravaggio need a better understanding of Lombard artists of the sixteenth-century. In the case of the Brescians, Longhi observed the importance of works such as Romanino's St Matthew (fig.1) for the development of

¹⁸ Langdon (1998): 23

Caravaggio's approach to chiaroscuro, and the modelling of bodies. He also highlighted the importance of works by Savoldo in the Mint of Milan, evocatively described by Vasari as 'images of night and fire'. These images do indeed share stylistic characteristics with the works produced by Caravaggio in Rome. Yet, less successful attempts have also been made of associating Moretto and his pupil Moroni with the sources of Caravaggio's art. Here, the lucidity and serenity of Moretto's works contrasts starkly with the more passionate, intense renditions of the sacred stories Caravaggio produced. A fresh look at Lombard painters of the sixteenth-century, and what their art had to offer, is therefore necessary to help further our understanding of Caravaggio's art.

As this study has attempted to show, the choice of style of an artist was influenced by a variety of factors, including the nature of the desired effect and the choice of medium, and the effect a style would produce was carefully calculated to meet a specific patron's demand.¹⁹ This raises important questions about the selection of visual sources, and surely, Caravaggio can be credited with enough visual intelligence to carefully select his sources. In the case of the available models in Brescia then, Romanino's imagery appears to have exerted a stronger influence on him than the art produced by Moretto. This will need further evaluation, but also, a dismissal of all Lombard art as characterised by the same stylistic tendencies, is a point of view that will not advance the study of Caravaggio's origins.

Where this reconsideration of Lombard painting is of importance is in the context of the discussion of the emergence of Baroque painting in Rome. Caravaggio is widely acknowledged to be one of the pioneers of a new era of

painting, and he is accredited, together with Annibale Carracci, with the revival of the ailing art of painting:

In the present century there followed the most modern painters, who it seems to me achieved perfection through intelligence, style and force of colouring, in landscapes and in perspectives. Our century can be divided into four schools that represent four different styles of painting. The first should be that of the Carracci. [...] The second school is that of Michelangelo da Caravaggio, which is forceful and excellently coloured.²⁰

Both painters were trained and educated in Northern Italy, and in most of the literature this fact is commented upon as one which demonstrated the need in Rome for fresh artistic blood-through the import of artists from elsewhere in Italy. Yet the significance of this geographical coincidence appears to lie much deeper: both Caravaggio and Carracci grew up in regions of Italy which had been deeply affected by the social, political and religious changes of the sixteenth-century. In the case of both artists, their first visual impressions were gathered in a civic centre, Milan in Caravaggio's case, Bologna in Carracci's, where dominant local families had been concerned with leaving a visual legacy, and with the construction of a visual identity for their courts and families. Both centres, though, had undergone significant political changes in the course of the sixteenth-century, and Milan especially had been at the centre of much upheaval. Cardinal Borromeo in Milan, and Cardinal Gabriele Paoletti in Bologna had both been concerned with the reform of religion through the means of art, and both

¹⁹ This might be one of the explanations for the wide-spread use of the form 'moda et forma' in artistic contracts. There, the effect produced by a work could be precisely controlled by a patron. On the subject of artistic contracts, see Glasser (1968); O'Malley (1994).

²⁰ Giulio Mancini, Considerazioni sulla pittura, 1617-21, in: Hibbard (1988): 351.

clerics published immensely detailed treatises defining the nature of religious art in the wake of the recommendations of the Council of Trent. Borromeo's Instructiones fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae (1577) was less influential than Paleottis' De Imaginibus Sacris (1594), but their writings did capture the post-Tridentine attitudes towards the sacred in art, and were thus instrumental in shaping attitudes towards the arts in their towns.²¹ Borromeo's influence on Peterzano, Caravaggio's teacher, has already been mentioned. Both artists therefore were aware of the propaganda potential of art, which made them such suitable heralds of a new age of painting in Rome. Yet it is the Northern Italian interpretation of the events of the Reformation, and their response in visual terms to a crisis from the North affecting them more directly than the more geographically remote papacy in Rome, which did indeed affect the course of painting in the seventeenth centuries. And whatever part the Lombard influences of Caravaggio played in this, has yet to be properly understood. An examination of the works of art produced by Lombard painters such as Moretto and Romanino is the first step towards achieving this aim. Caravaggio's art has become synonymous with naturalism and has been described as embodying the character of the Counter Reformation. Yet, the very same tendencies ascribed to his art are characteristic of much of the art produced by painters such as the two Brescians. Northern Italy's geographical proximity to Germany and Switzerland meant that the impact of the Reformation was earlier and more keenly felt than in Rome. As a result, reactions to the Protestant challenge developed earlier than elsewhere in Italy (see discussion on pp.17-19 on Romanino's San Francesco

²¹ Borromeo's and Paleotti's treatises were amongst a flurry of publications translating the Tridentine decrees on images into precise manuals of the arts which included also: Molanus, De picturis et imaginibus sacris, Louvain, 1570; Gilio da Fabriano, Due Dialoghi, Camerino, 1564;

Altarpiece, fig.4). The visual strategies developed in Northern Italy were sanctioned by the decrees of the Council of Trent. The greatest merit of Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci was then to transplant compositional motifs developed in the North to Rome, where they soon gained widespread currency.

The beginning of the sixteenth-century represents one of these fascinating moments in history, when the value systems of an entire society is undergoing transformations in response to a spiritual crisis of unprecedented dimension, providing an insight into the construction of meaning. In the context of the ongoing debate concerning the foundations of Christian faith and the positioning of man at a moment of coining a new period identity, the works of Romanino and Moretto are given meaningfulness as expressions of this process of redefinition. Moretto's orthodoxy complies with the human need for security and continuation, recalling familiar images and concepts in serene and peaceful images of perfection; his world is untroubled by spiritual insecurity, political upheaval and hunger. Nobody can doubt the benevolence and power of splendidly clad, confident saints gathered around the motherly and caring figure of the Virgin Mary. In this beautiful, ideal realm of peace, the troubled soul of the beholder can find a safe haven of retreat, an ideal to aspire to. The priest, re-enacting the sacrifice of the mass in front of one of these images, takes on monumental significance, and the doctrines he is teaching become unquestionable. Moretto's aesthetically pleasing images convey positive, reassuring messages in keeping with the familiar words spoken by the priest in front of them. In Moretto's visual language saints remain securely associated with the values traditionally affiliated to them. Orthodox in his beliefs and

Comanini, G., Il Figino, Mantua, 1591. See Barocchi (1960-1962). The best overview over these treatises is still in Blunt (1962): 103-136.

convictions, Moretto is the perfect medium for the promotion of the values associated with the ruling, i.e. conservative, class.

Romanino asks too many questions to be comfortable, his compositions jarring with the familiar scene of worship, the expressive, even grotesque faces striking a discord with the need for reassurance. The painter gives no answers, represents no ideal, but instead confronts the beholder with the brutal reality of doubts and uncertainty- yet his images are as important a part of the reality experienced by sixteenth-century Brescians as are Moretto's calm and serene images of an idealised realm. It is only when the works of both painters have been put together that the identity of Brescian art can be understood. Their art, and the identity their works have helped to create, remain open to interpretation. But it is hoped that with this study, at long last, their art has indeed stepped out from the shadow of *La Serenissima*.

Appendix I

Table

Table of Incomes of Brescian Familes

The following table lists 111 Brescian families in accordance to wealth and political influence. It has been included to provide background information on some of the families who patronised Moretto and Romanino. Most of the families who employed these two painters can be found in the first half of the table.

The source of this information can be found in Pegrari, M., 'I Giochi di potere: Presenza ed incidenza del patriziato nella società bresciana del Cinquecento', in Pegrari, M. (ed.), Arte, Economia, Cultura e Religione nella Brescia del XVI secolo, Brescia, 1988, Table I, pp.233-236.

Table

	Famiglie	Valori d'estimo in denari terzi sestì								Numero dei seggi ottenuti				Posizione relativa in rapporto al numero dei seggi				Totale dei seggi occupati	Status sociale
		1486-1516	1	1517-1547	1	1548-1587	(3)	1588-1639	1	1486-1516	1588-1639	1548-1587	1588-1639	1517-1516	1548-1547	1548-1587	1588-1639		
1	MARTINENG O	408.2.0	1	332.2.0	1	409.0.0	1	298.2.0	1	72	125	187	187	2	2	5	8	571	Nobiltà f.
2	GAMBARA	178.00	2	27.2.0	27	21.2.1	38	23.0.1	33	5	2	60	134	49	65	37	18	201	Nobiltà r.
3	MAGGI	141.2.0	3	201.1.0	2	180.0.1	2	211.1.1	2	44	115	364	308	10	3	1	1	831	Nobiltà r.
4	CAPRIOLO	123.0.0	4	138.2.0	4	105.0.0	6	112.1.1	5	58	33	99	111	6	13	22	26	301	Nobiltà r.
5	LUZZAGO	118.1.0	5	97.0.0	6	106.0.1	5	98.2.0	6	21	19	125	250	28	39	15	3	405	Nobiltà r.
6	AVEROLDI	108.0.0	6	141.0.0	3	135.2.0	3	136.2.0	4	32	100	175	197	17	4	6	7	504	Nobiltà r.
7	ROSA	91.0.0	7	59.1.0	17	51.2.1	20	28.1.0	29	6	35	52	77	48	24	41	33	170	Mercanti
8	SALA	79.0.0	8	97.2.0	5	81.1.1	12	48.0.1	18	67	96	142	181	3	5	12	9	486	Nobiltà r.
9	PORCELLAGA	66.2.0	9	53.0.3	20	88.2.0	10	89.2.1	8	60	76	150	115	4	8	8	23	401	Nobiltà f.
10	EMILI	62.1.0	10	63.1.0	14	90.2.0	9	51.0.1	16	47	42	67	97	8	19	32	29	253	Nobiltà f.
11	GANASSONI	61.1.0	11	60.2.0	16	83.1.1	11	63.2.0	13	19	20	25	115	33	37	54	23	179	Mercanti
12	BARGNANO	61.1.0	11	83.2.0	9	69.0.1	17	69.0.1	12	13	26	143	180	39	30	11	10	362	Nobiltà r.
13	RODENGO	56.2.0	13	88.0.0	8	79.1.0	13	74.2.0	11	25	63	128	125	25	11	14	21	341	Professionisti
14	ROVATI	52.2.0	14	59.1.0	17	50.1.0	21	58.2.1	15	31	36	76	119	19	23	26	22	262	Nobiltà r.
15	LANA	51.2.0	15	96.0.0	7	104.1.0	7	46.1.0	19	59	138	248	251	5	1	2	2	696	Nobiltà f.
16	CALINI	50.2.0	16	80.2.0	10	129.0.1	4	84.0.0	9	36	57	113	148	13	12	16	15	354	Nobiltà r.
17	BELLASI	48.0.0	17	54.2.0	19	50.0.1	22	48.2.0	17	41	47	108	68	11	16	18	34	264	Professionisti
18	BORNATI	47.1.0	18	62.0.0	15	66.1.1	18	43.0.0	20	56	79	172	161	7	7	7	13	468	Nobiltà r.
19	FENAROLI	45.2.0	19	42.2.0	24	95.1.1	8	141.0.0	3	10	15	97	234	42	43	23	5	356	Nobiltà r.
20	DUCCO	44.0.0	20	44.0.0	23	34.1.1	27	33.0.0	26	91	87	214	217	1	6	3	6	609	Nobiltà r.
21	CHIZZOLA	40.1.0	21	86.2.0	11	75.1.0	14	76.0.1	10	17	52	200	146	36	14	4	17	415	Nobiltà r.
22	FEROLDI	36.2.0	22	9.0.0	60	37.1.0	26	24.2.0	31	32	33	88	114	17	25	24	25	235	Mercanti
23	MONTINI	36.0.0	23	63.2.0	13	62.1.1	19	17.2.1	36	3	29	105	147	51	28	20	16	284	Nobiltà r.
24	PALAZZI	34.2.0	24	51.0.0	21	73.0.1	15	63.1.0	14	9	23	113	64	43	35	16	39	106	Nobiltà r.
25	CUCCHI	32.1.0	25	22.0.0	29	28.2.0	30	2.0.0	97	3	16	33	67	51	41	51	36	119	Nobiltà r.

	Famiglie	Valori d'estimo in denari terzi sestì										Numero dei seggi ottenuti				Posizione relativa in rapporto al numero dei seggi				Totale dei seggi occupati	Status sociale
		1486-1516	1	1517-1547	1	1548-1587	(3)	1588-1639	1	1486-1516	1588-1639	1548-1587	1588-1639	1517-1516	1548-1547	1548-1587	1588-1639				
26	FORESTI	31.1.0	26	14.2.0	46	32.1.1	26	7.1.1	61	1	12	65	134	56	46	34	18	212	Nobiltà r.		
27	CALZAVEGLIA	30.2.0	27	39.2.0	25	47.2.0	23	42.2.1	21	18	31	102	28	35	27	21	58	179	Patrizi		
28	UGONI	26.1.0	28	66.1.0	12	70.0.1	16	97.1.0	7	21	46	144	237	28	17	10	4	448	Nobiltà f.		
29	CAZZAGO	25.2.0	29	33.0.0	26	40.0.1	25	42.2.1	21	40	26	79	45	12	30	25	50	190	Nobiltà r.		
30	MARINI	23.1.0	30	18.0.0	38	24.2.1	32	17.2.1	36	17	3	40	93	36	58	45	31	153	Nobiltà r.		
31	PEDROCCA	21.0.0	31	22.0.0	29	29.0.1	29	22.1.1	35	31	71	108	153	19	9	18	14	363	Professioni		
32	OCCANONI	21.0.0	31	15.0.0	45	11.2.0	52	6.2.1	67	19	6	0	0	33	53	0	0	25	Nobiltà r.		
33	VALGOGLIO	19.2.0	33	19.0.0	37	10.0.1	56	1.0.0	99	26	5	0	0	24	57	0	0	31	Non conos		
34	SURAGA	19.1.0	34	22.0.0	29	7.2.0	67	15.1.0	44	9	16	66	16	43	41	33	66	107	Nobiltà r.		
35	FAITA	19.0.0	35	14.1.0	47	15.0.0	45	5.2.0	76	21	21	60	130	28	36	37	20	232	Professioni		
36	SOLDI	17.1.0	36	7.0.0	66	12.2.0	50	17.2.1	36	24	2	0	0	26	62	0	0	26	Nobiltà r.		
37	NASSINI	17.0.0	37	22.0.0	28	24.1.1	33	37.0.1	24	36	25	150	164	13	32	8	12	375	C. originari		
38	PENNA	14.1.0	38	2.2.0	82	2.1.1	94	3.0.0	98	1	0	9	38	56	0	73	53	48	Non conos.		
39	PONTEVICO	14.1.0	38	17.0.0	39	20.0.0	40	---		0	0	19	---	0	0	61	---	19	Nob(merc)		
40	COCCAGLIO	14.1.0	38	22.0.0	29	22.1.1	37	13.1.1	47	0	3	35	22	0	58	49	62	60	Cittadini		
41	CONFALONIERI	14.1.0	38	16.2.0	40	14.1.0	46	6.1.0	71	20	40	24	30	32	20	55	55	114	Nobiltà r.		
42	LENO	14.0.0	42	8.0.0	62	13.0.0	49	5.2.1	74	23	45	69	5	27	18	29	77	142	Cittadini		
43	CATTANEO	13.1.0	43	20.1.0	35	22.2.1	36	22.2.1	34	1	0	9	8	56	0	73	72	18	Non conos		
44	MALVEZZI	13.0.0	44	11.1.0	50	8.1.1	63	10.1.0	53	31	51	57	100	19	15	40	28	239	Professioni		
45	PONCARALI	12.2.0	45	16.0.0	41	18.0.0	43	27.0.0	30	46	29	69	108	9	28	29	27	252	Nobiltà r.		
46	SICCI	12.2.0	45	20.1.0	36	19.0.0	41	24.1.0	32	0	20	34	94	0	37	50	30	148	Nobiltà r.		
47	STELLA	12.1.0	47	46.2.0	22	44.0.1	24	42.0.0	23	31	67	135	179	19	10	13	11	412	Nobiltà f.		
48	VALOTTI	11.1.0	48	9.2.0	56	11.2.0	52	8.1.0	60	0	12	3	0	0	46	78	0	15	Mercanti		
49	ROBERTI	11.0.0	49	15.1.0	44	23.2.0	34	5.0.0	81	33	40	78	67	16	20	26	36	218	Professioni		
50	BELLACATTI	10.2.0	50	7.1.0	65	7.0.1	68	9.2.1	55	14	39	64	21	38	25	35	63	138	Cittadini		
51	BUARNI	10.2.0	50	6.2.0	67	10.0.0	57	7.1.1	61	0	0	16	54	0	0	74	42	70	Cittadini		
52	TIBERI	10.0.0	52	16.0.0	41	9.0.0	62	15.0.1	45	35	24	76	57	15	34	28	41	192	Cittadini		
53	CASTELLI	9.2.0	53	11.2.0	49	26.0.0	31	15.1.1	43	28	25	26	90	23	32	53	32	169	Professioni		
54	LANTANA	9.1.0	54	10.1.0	56	10.0.0	57	3.1.0	87	3.	0	18	29	51	0	63	56	50	Professioni		

	Famiglie	Valori d'estimo in denari terzi sestì										Numero dei seggi ottenuti					Posizione relativa in rapporto al numero dei seggi					Totale dei seggi occupati	Status sociale
		1486-1516	1	1517-1547	1	1548-1587	(3)	1588-1639	1	1486-1516	1588-1639	1548-1587	1588-1639	1517-1516	1548-1547	1548-1587	1588-1639						
55	ZONI	900	55	1520	43	2300	65	710	63	12	17	9	52	41	40	73	44	90	Professioni				
56	DURANTI	810	56	1110	50	301	84	2910	28	1	10	45	41	56	49	44	52	97	Nobiltà r.				
57	LUPATINI	720	57	2220	29	1710	44	1521	39	0	9	68	67	0	50	31	36	144	Nobiltà r.				
58	SANGERVASIO	700	58	1020	54	1811	42	1300	48	8	8	48	51	46	51	42	46	115	Nobiltà f.				
59	TAIARDINI	700	58	500	71	521	74	1110	98	0	0	46	20	0	0	43	65	66	Cittadini				
60	CARAVAGGIO	700	58	1020	56	721	66	021	102	1	6	23	24	56	53	56	57	61	Cittadini				
61	GABALDI	620	61	910	59	801	64	601	72	0	3	38	6	0	56	46	75	47	Cittadini				
62	BIANCHI	610	62	810	61	600	73	700	66	0	0	14	54	0	0	66	42	68	Mercanti				
63	NEGROBONI	610	62	010	97	300	86	---		0	0	0	---	0	0	0	---	0	Patrizi				
64	GORNI	600	64	410	76	1401	47	1601	41	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	80	2	Cittadini				
65	PAITONI	520	65	100	93	420	77	410	83	3	13	13	9	51	45	68	72	38	Cittadini				
66	PILATI	520	65	310	77	220	90	1201	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Nobiltà r.				
67	PAGNANI	510	67	420	74	300	86	---		0	3	5	0	0	58	76	0	8	Cittadini				
68	SCALVINI	510	67	1110	50	410	78	1010	53	3	0	36	49	51	0	47	47	88	Professioni				
69	FAUSTINI	510	67	1110	50	1201	51	600	73	4	6	14	29	50	53	66	56	63	Professioni				
70	CROTTA	500	70	220	87	220	90	511	78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Mercanti				
71	GALLI	420	71	720	64	701	68	321	85	0	0	3	35	0	0	78	54	38	Nobiltà r.				
72	SCOPULI	410	72	800	62	911	60	311	86	0	0	3	0	0	0	78	0	3	Nobiltà r.				
73	GAETANI	400	73	210	86	320	80	521	74	21	1	21	10	28	64	60	70	53	Cittadini				
74	GANATTARI	320	74	620	67	1020	53	411	82	9	33	62	68	43	25	36	34	172	Cittadini				
75	POCHIPANNI	320	74	520	70	621	71	401	84	8	15	36	13	46	43	47	69	72	Cittadini				
76	ULMI	300	76	1310	48	2100	39	220	93	1	0	0	7	56	0	0	73	8	Patrizi				
77	BONVICINI	210	77	110	91	311	81	1210	49	1	12	15	0	56	46	65	0	28	Non conos				
78	SAVOLDI	210	77	220	82	220	90	1121	51	0	0	22	28	0	0	58	58	50	Cittadini				
79	BARBERA	210	77	200	87	111	96	211	95	0	0	11	21	0	0	72	63	32	Cittadini				
80	CERUTI	200	80	2100	34	201	95	3410	25	0	7	24	3	0	52	55	79	34	Cittadini				
81	USTIANI	200	80	120	89	511	76	620	68	0	0	19	7	0	0	61	73	26	Nobiltà r.				
82	PAVONI	120	82	020	94	020	102	620	68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Cittadini				
83	APPIANI	120	82	1020	54	521	74	821	59	13	6	59	61	39	53	39	40	139	Patrizi				

	Famiglie	Valori d'estimo in denari terzi sestì										Numero dei seggi ottenuti					Posizione relativa in rapporto al numero dei seggi					Totale dei seggi occupati	Status sociale
		1486-1516		1	1517-1547	1	1548-1587	(3)	1588-1639	1													
											1486-1516	1588-1639	1548-1587	1588-1639	1517-1516	1548-1547	1548-1587	1588-1639					
84	BUCCELLENI	120	82	50.0	71	13.10	48	15.20	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Cittadini			
85	GUARNERI	120	82	0.10	97	2.21	88	16.21	42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Cittadini			
86	BERTELLI	110	86	3.10	80	3.21	79	3.10	87	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Nobiltà r.			
87	ZERBINI	110	86	1.20	80	0.21	100	1.01	99	0	0	13	52	0	0	69	44	65	65	Cittadini			
88	ROVELLI	100	88	---		0.20	102	0.10	104	0	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	Mercanti			
89	CAPITANEI	0.20	89	0.20	94	10.10	54	29.21	27	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	77	5	5	Nobiltà f.			
90	CAZZAMALIS	0.20	89	---		3.11	81	6.21	68	0	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	Cittadini			
91	LAMBERTI	0.20	89	3.10	77	3.0.2	83	5.10	79	0	0	29	2	0	0	52	80	31	31	Professioni			
92	MAZZUCHELLI	0.20	89	3.10	77	2.1.2	88	5.0.1	80	0	0	4	16	0	0	77	66	20	20	Mercanti			
93	CIRIMBELLI	0.20	89	0.10	97	1.0.1	97	3.10	87	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Patrizi			
94	LIZZARI	---		6.10	69	9.0.1	61	0.0.1	105	---	0	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	Patrizi			
95	MERLINI	---		5.00	71	6.1.1	72	5.2.0	76	---	0	22	47	---	0	58	48	69	69	Cittadini			
96	GUERRINI	---		4.2.0	74	10.1.0	54	9.0.1	58	---	0	12	28	---	0	70	58	40	40	Patrizi			
97	AMICI	---		3.0.0	80	2.2.0	90	2.2.1	91	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	0	Patrizi			
98	MERCANDONI	---		2.0.0	82	7.0.1	68	9.2.0	57	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	0	Professioni			
99	ARZIGNANI	---		2.0.0	82	3.0.1	84	2.2.0	93	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	0	Cittadini			
100	BORDONALI	---		1.1.0	91	1.0.0	98	0.0.1	105	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	0	Nobiltà r.			
101	OLDOFREDI	---		0.2.0	94	8.0.1	64	14.2.0	46	---	0	12	42	---	0	70	51	54	54	Nobiltà f.			
102	GILLI	---		0.1.0	97	0.1.1	104	1.0.0	101	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	0	Cittadini			
103	GRATI	---		0.1.0	97	0.1.1	104	0.2.0	103	---	0	0	16	---	0	0	66	16	16	Mercanti			
104	LONGHI	---		0.1.0	97	0.2.0	100	7.0.1	64	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	0	Nobiltà r.			
105	FERRAROLI	---		0.0.0		9.2.0.1	59	10.2.0	52	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	0	Professioni			
106	ALBERGHINI	---		---		1.0.0	98	9.2.1	55	---	---	0	0	---	---	0	0	0	0	Cittadini			
107	ARCHETTI	---		---		0.0.0	106	---		---	---	0	---	---	---	0	---	0	0	Mercanti			
108	BARBOGLIO	---		---		---		7.0.1	64	---	---	---	0	---	---	---	0	0	0	Patrizi			
109	ACCINI	---		---		---		2.2.1	91	---	---	---	0	---	---	---	0	0	0	Non conos			
110	METELLI	---		---		---		2.1.1	95	---	---	---	0	---	---	---	0	0	0	Professioni			
111	CONERI	---	-	---		---	-	0.0.0	107	---	---	---	0	---	---	---	0	0	0	Non conos			

Appendix II

Contracts

1. Contract for the Chapel of the SS. Sacrament, S. Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia¹

1521, 21 martii- In iesu Christi nomine.

Anno a nativitate eiusdem millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo primo, indictione nona die vigesimo primo mensis martii, in sacrestia posita apud ecclesiam Sancti Ioannis de Foris civitatis Brixiae, seu in monasterio dictae ecclesiae sita in dicta contrata, praesentibus domino fratre Faustino de Brixia, ordinis Sancti Augustini, Hieronymo de Amigonibus zerlotto et Antonio de Zanotis herettario habitatoribus omnibus Brixiae et testibus ad hoc idoneis rogatis et specialiter vocatis, asserentibusque cognoscere infrascriptos contrahentes, ibi reverendus dominus pater priori monasterii Sancti Ioannis de Foris civitatis Brixiae, specvtabilis doctor dominus Ioannes Franciscus de Ocavonibus, dominus Bartholomeus de Fortilatis, dominus Pax de Lanis syndacus et dominis Antonius de Taiettis massarius Universitatis et Scholae predictae, una cum nonnullis aliis eorum collegis et pro quibus de rato promiserunt quod habebunt et tenebunt rata et firma omnia et singula in praesente instrumento contenta sub obligatione honorum dictae Scholae et capellae, dederunt ipsam capellam et quadros in ea existentes partem a mane et partem a sera altaris ipsius capellae ad pingendum magistro Hieronymo de Rumani sive de Rumano et magistro Alexandro de Bonvisinis pictoribus et civibus habitatoribus Brixiae ibi praesentibus et acceptantibus cum infrascriptis pactis et conventionibus inter ipsas partes mutua et solenni stipulatione hinc et inde interveniente factis et firmatis vallatis, videlicet quod ipsi pictores teneantur et obligati sint ipsam capellam et quadros quilibet pro dimidio et de quadro in quadrum quilibet singulum quadrum dipingere cum illis figuris et capitulis, prout ipsis pictoribus et cuilibet eorum data fuerit nota per spectabilis et praeclaros deputatos super huiusmodi opera seu maiorem partem eorum et in termine annorum trium continuorum proxime futurorum, ad complendum dictum totum opus et plus et minus inspecta qualitate operis et et conditione et occurrentia temporum et habitatione et comoditate ipsae Scholae et Universitatis eiusdem ad possendum fieri facere dictum opus arbitrio tamen praefatorum dominorum deputatorum qui sint in numero novem vel maioris partis eorum, quibus quadris pictis de singulo in singulum quadrum debeant extimare per tres ex supra dictis novem deputatis eligendis per omnes istos deputatos vel maiorem partem eorum una cum ipsis pictoribus, qui tres sint elegendi ut supra dictum est, debeant videre et examinare dictum opus quod fiet per supradictos pictores de quadro in quadrum et laudare, taxare et existimare praetium, quod promereri potuerint ipsi magistri pictores, quorum trium eligendorum ut supra taxatione et laudo seu existimatione per eos fiendis praedicti contrahentes agentes ut supra convenerunt et solemniter promiserunt sibi invicem stare et parere sub poena librarum viginti quinque planet conferenda parti contrafacienti et applicando observantique poenam toties comitatur et exigi possit quoties contrafactum fuerit et alterius convenerunt et sibi invicem solemniter promiserunt praedicta omnia et

¹ Begni Redona (1988) 589-590

singula attendere et observare et in aliqua non contrafacere neque contravenire aliqua ratione vel causa de iure nec de facto, neque quovis alio modo ingenio, vel quesito colore et sibi invicem reficere et emendare omnia et singula damna expensas et interesse exinde incurrente unae partis defectu vel culpa alterius et contractum in iudicio referendo et ad hoc praefati deputati agentes ut supra obligaverunt subscriptis pictoribus bona dictae Scholae et Universitatis eiusdem et praedicti pictores magistri praefatis dominis deputatis stipulantibus ut supra se personaliter et omnia et singula bona eorum praesentia et futura pignoraverunt ad invicem exceptione non sic factarum dictarum conventionum et non sic in omnibus et singulis fuisse et esse verum, omnibus statutis, consiliis et reformationibus comunis et populi Brixiae, et alibi factis et fiendis, omnique alio legum auxilio contra praedicta operanti, de quibus et singulis rogatum fuit instrumentum per dominum Andream de Scaratio olim notarium et civem Brixiae (I.S.) Ego Petrus Joannes filius quondam nobilis viri domini Andrea de Scaratis notarius publicus auctoritate apostolica civis et habitator Brixiae suprascriptum instrumentum concorde rogatum et imbeviatum per praefatum dominum patrem meum, ex eius imbrevisuris ex commissione mihi facta, ut constat in eius ultimo testamento rogato et scripto per se Benedictum de Alzano notaro sub mense et anno in eo contentis, et tradidi auscultavique et concordare inveni, ideo cum attestatione mea solita in finem promissionis subscripsi.

A/N

B/N

Adi primo maggio 1783- Brescia

Tratta da altra simile autentica in pergamena esistente nell'Archivio dei reverendi Canonici di San Giovanni Evangelista di questa città.

In fede - Io Angelo Nicola Belloni quondam Iohanne Battista di Brescia et habitante in Brescia notari di veneta autorità.

2. Romanino:

i) Brescia, 11 June 1508²

In Christi nomine amen anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quingentesimo octavo Indictione undecima die Lune vigesimo sexto mensis Junii Brixiae in domo habitationis infrascriptorum magistry hieronimi et joannis iacobi frartrum sita in contrata cantoni de Adam. In quadam caminata terranea presentibus Aminadab q. m. joannini de Martinengo habitatore in dicta contrata Alexandro filio francisci de Rumano habitatore Uradi ambobus civibus brixie et Magistro Joanne de flandria magistro texture figurarum habitatore in domo M.ci D. Mathei de Advocatis omnibus testibus notis ad hoc rogatis et specialiter convocatis.

Ibi magistri hieronimus et Joannes jacobus fratres pictores fq. M. Rumanini de Rumano cives et habitatores brixie agentes per se et heredes suos parte ex una: et Matheus q. Lazarini de parma familiaris magnifici comitis Maphei de Gambara habitator in presentiarum Brixie in contrata Scti Clementis nec non Joannes franciscus eius filius agentes per se et heredes suos ex altera unanimiter et concorditer fecerunt inter se infrascriptum concordium compositionem et pacta solemnem stipulatione hinc inde interveniente vallata. Vz.

P^o quod dicti magistri hieronimus et Joannes jacobus fratres pictores teneantur et sic solemniter promiserunt hospitari secum in eorum habitatione predictum Joannem franciscum per annos sex incepturos die prima Julii proximi futuri ipsumque Johannem franciscum alimentare pro victu suo eumque bene tractare secundum et prout conveniens est similibus magistris erga discipulos suos.

Item quod dicti fratres teneantur et sic solemniter promiserunt transactis primis annis quattuor dictorum sex annorum eundem Johannem franciscum vestire calciare convenienter omnibus eorum expensis per reliquos duos ultimos annos dictorum sex annorum exceptis tamen camisyjs ipse Joannes franciscus de suo sibi facere teneantur.

Item quod dicti fratres teneantur et sic solemniter promiserunt dictum Joannem franciscum docere et instruere artem suam pictoris in dictum tempus toto eorum posse.

Ex adverso quod dictus: Matheus et Joannes franciscus teneantur et sic solemniter promiserunt dare et cum effectu exhibere suprascriptis m. hieronimo et joanni jacobo ad eorum domum somas sexdecim frumenti in annos quattuor proximos futuros vz. singulo anno quartam partem per totum mensem Julii cuiuslibet anni.

Quibus actis immediate Ego Stephanus notarius infrascriptus per me et heredes meos precibus et rogatu suprascriptorum Mathei et Joannis francisci me eorum fidejussorem principalem et in solidum constitui et obligavi de attendendo predicta omnia et singula per eos promissa ut supra Et quod dictus Joannes franciscus perseveravit toto tempore dictorum sex annorum modo et forma predictis.

Qui Matheus et Joannes Franciscus se et utrumque eorum principaliter et in solidum obligantes cum renuntiis debitis et necessariis promiserunt mihi notario

² Bosselli (1976): 80-81.

eorum fidejussori predicto de conservando me indemnem et illesum a predicta fidejussione.

Insuper dicti m. hieronimo et joannes jacobus pictores habuerunt et receperunt a me stephano fifejussori predicto libras quattuordecim sibi numeratas in auro et monetis pro primis somis quattuor furmenti eis promissis pro primo anno ut supra quas libras quattuordecim dicti Mattheus et Joannes franciscus mihi restituere promiserunt ad omnem meam requisitionem In presentia suprascriptorum testium.

Que omnia et singula suprascripta et infrascripta singula singulis et congrua congruis.

Ego Stephanus q. Bartholomei de Floris de Insula Sclarum Brixiae civis et habitator cte platee novrini notarius publicus predictis omnibus et singulis presens fui et rogatus ea publice scripsi.

A.S.B. Notarile Brescia Not. Florio Stefano 1495/1511 N.2150

ii) Brescia, 17 August, 1511³

In Christi nomine amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quingentesimo undecimo Die decimoseptimo mensis Augusti. In civitate brixie in monasterio venerabilium fratrum Jesuatorum noncupato Corporis Christi: In sacristia dicti monasterii presentibus hieronimo filio floriani pictoris et Joanne Jacobo de Cataneis de contrada Cantoni bombasarij ambobus habitatoribus brixie testibus notis ad hoc rogatis et specialiter convocatis et asserentibus se cognoscere infrascriptos contrahentes et per me notarium notos.

Ibi Reverendus D; presbiter oliverius frater ordinis predicti et eiusdem loci prior agens nomine dicti monasterii et pro eo de rato soelmniter habendo promittens parte ex una et magister hieronimus de Rumano civis et habitator brixiae pictor excellens ex altera fecerunt inter se infrascriptum conventiones et pacta solemnem stipulationem hinc inde intervallata.

p^o quod dictus magister hieronimus teneatur et obligatus sit infra annum proximum futurum pingere aram seu pallam altaris maioris ecclesie Corporis Christi erectam in loco predicto que personaliter ostensa fuit ipsi magistro hieronimo paulo ante hunc presentem conventum tam pro mercede et industria ipsius quam ex auro puro azuroque ultramarino et partim ungaro aliisque coloribus oportunis cuiusvis generis sint laudabilibus a quibuscumque personis in similibus expertis ad perfectionem dictum opus habita relatione ad notam seu exemplar de eis factum in figura prout in folio penes me notarium consignato. Et versa vice prefatus Reverendus D. prior promisit suprascripto magistro hieronimo ibi presenti stipulanti et recipienti pro se et heredibus suis sibi dare et cum effectu exbursari libras centum sexaginta planet pro dicto opere perficiendo ut supra hoc modo. vz libras triginta immediate postquam completus fuerit primus quadrus dicte palle item libras quindecim plat. pro singulo ceteorum quadrorum qui sint numero quinque de uno in unum et de vice in vicem postquam singulatim completi fuerint. Residuum vero finito dicto anno et opere completo et laudato ab expertis in similibus omni expectione prorsus remota.

³ Bosselli (1976): 81-82.

Que omnia et singula suprascripta et infrascripta singula singulis et congrua congruis debiter referendo dicti contrahentes promiserunt sibi invicem et vicissim semper et perpetuo firma rata et conventa bene tenere attendere observare et adimplere et numquam de jure nec de facto contrafacere nec venire sub pena dupli dicti pretij et refectionis dannorum omnium expensarum et interesse litis etc. Pro quorum omnium et singulorum observatione dicti contrahentes pignori obligaverunt omnia bona vz dictus d. prior bona dicti monasterii et dictus magister hieronimus sua presentia et futura. De quibus omnibus rogatus sum ego stephanus notarius infrascriptus ad laudes sapientis.

Ego stephanus quondam Bartholomei de Floriis de Insula Sclarum civis et habitator contrate Scti Benedicti notarius publicus predictis omnibus et singulis presens fui et rogatus ea publice scripsi.

A.S.B., Notarile Brescia Not. Florio Stefano 1495/1511 N.2150

iii) Brescia, 5 January, 1534⁴

In Xristi nomine amen Anno Domini a Nativitate eiusdem Millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo quarto Indictione septima de quinto mensis Januarii in Camera Infrascripti Domini constituentis posita in conventu Scti Dominici Brixiae presentibus fratre Benedicto de Catharo et fratre Petro Martire de Cypro clericis ordinis predicatorum residentibus in presentiarum in predicto conventu testibus rogatis vocatis et notis.

Ibi Reverendus D. frater Anastasius de farfengo ordinis predicatorum residens in conventu Scti Dominici civitatis Brixiae jussu et licentia ad infrascripta facienda R. D. Prioris conventus Scti Dominici meliori modo quo potuit fecit constituit creavit et solemniter ordinavit suum verum certum et indubitatum nuntium missum et procuratorem negotiorum quoque suorum infrascriptorum gestorem et quidquid aliud melius esse dici vel fieri potest Magnificum D. Aloysium fillium Mci D. Juliani de Calino civem et habitorem civitatis Brixiae presentem et acceptantem spetialiter et expresse ad faciendum fieri et executioni debite demandandum demandari quoque faciendum conventiones et promissiones ac pacta alias factas et facta per et inter ipsum dominum constituentem ex una et Magistrum Hyeronimum de Romaninis pictorem civem et habitorem Brixiae ex altra pro pingendo per ipsum magistrum Hyeronimum claustrum mortuorum situm in prefato conventu Scti Dominici modis et condicionibus de quibus in ipsis conventionibus de quibus apparet Instrumento rogato per q. s. Galeatium de Melonibus notarium vel et aliter et ad faciendum ea omnia circa dictas conventiones et pingi faciendum dictum claustrumquod dictus dominus constituens facere possit et potest erga dictum magistrum Hyeronimum Item ad componendum et transigendum cum dicto magistro Hieronimo de et super dictis conventis et illarum occasione Et nec non etiam ad compromittendum. Et si necesse fuerit pro premissis in quocumque foro sive iudicio coram quibuscumque Iudicibus tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus competentibus et generaliter etiam Promittendo etc De quibus omnibus Rogatus sum Ego Bartolomeus de papia notarius infrascriptus publicum conficere instrumentum ad laudem sapientis.

⁴ Bosselli (1976): 83.

iv) Brescia, 23 December, 1534⁵

Sia noto et manifesto a cadauna persona che lezira lo presente scritto commo mis. Polidoro de Scutri citadino et habitator in Bressa a posto et acordato cum mis. Hyeronimo de Romaninis pictore citadino et habitator ut supra hector suo fiol presente et contento ad imparar l'arte del pictore quale exercita dicto misr. Hyeronimo per anni quatro prossimi futuri che hanno a començar al primo giorno de zenaro proximo 1535 cum questi pacti et conuenzioni tra le dette parti vz. chel ditto msr. Polidoro sia tenuto et obligato et cosi promette dare et pagare al predicto msr. Heyronimo romanino per anni trey de ditti quatro anni ducatti sedese a rason d'anno de 1. Tre pr ducato et de quatro mesi in quatro mesi la rata pagare sempre may la rata de quatro mesi auanti tratto dello quarto anno non le debba dar cosa alcuna al ditto msr Hyeronimo et ditto mrs polidoro sia obligato ali uestimenti del ditto putto et che parimenti ditto mrs Hyeronimo sia obligato et cosi promette insignar a tutto suo posser il dicto hector suo fiol in ditta arte de pictore et amaystrarlo in essa arte in ditto tempo e far li spesi del manzar al ditto hector in el ditto tempo senza altro pretio saluo li soprascritti ducati sedese lanno ut supra Item ditto mrs polydoro promette chel ditto suo fiol perseuerera cum ditto mrs Hyeronimo per ditto tempo gli sara fidele et obediante nele cose licite sotto pena de ogni danno et interesse. Et il ditto mrs polydoro per parte del pretio del primo anno et per li primi quatro mese actualmente ha numerato al ditto mis Hieronimo lire sedese in oro et moneta actualmente numerata promittentes et obligantes et renuntiantes et lo presente scritto Jo apollonio bucelleno notario ho scritto della uoluntà delle parti etc. In presentia de mis Nicolo piacentino notario et Thomas de alexandris et mis Hyeronimo de chari notarii quali tutti se sottoscriueranno de sua mano et questo fu rogato 23 de decembre 1534 in palatio nouo del Comun de Bressa.

Ego Jdem Hyeronimus Charus notarius suprascriptus prescriptis omnibus affui et manu propria sotoscripsi die et anno suprascriptis.

Idem Nicolaus placentinus notarius presens fui premissis die et millesimo suprascriptis et in fidem me sotoscripsi.

Idem Thomas de alexandris notarius suprascriptus predictis omnibus interfui die et millesimo suprascriptis.

v) Brescia, 24 February 1546⁶

In Xristi nomine amen Anno domini a nativitate eiusdem millesimo quingntesimo quatragesimo sexto Indictione quarta die vigesimo quarto mensis februarii In camaretto infrascripti d. Hieronimi sito in eius domibus cte vie late brixie presentibus d. mro Galeatio de grillis chirurgo et mro Hyeronimo de rothis

⁵ Bosselli (1976): 83-84.

⁶ Bosselli (1976): 84-85.

pictore et civinus et habitatoribus brixie testibus rogatis et notis asserentibus cognoscere partes: Calculatis rationibus per et inter d. hieronimum de romaninis pictorem civem et habitatorem brixie parte una et mrum Danielelem de moris pictorem garzonum prefati Hieronimi parte altera occasione servitutis per eum facte ipsi d. Hieronimo in pingendo, et pecuniarum habitarum et receptarum ab eo et aliis eius d. Hieronimi nomine quacumque de causa In quo saldo prefatus d. Hieronimus remansit et remanet debitor prefati mri Danielis in et de libris centum pl. quas dare et solvere convenit et promisit ipsi mro Danieli presenti et acceptanti pro se suisque heredibus et successoribus hinc per totum mensem maij proximi futuri anni 1547 solvendo ipsas pecunias in quatuor vicibus cum pacto quod dictus Daniel teneatur et obligatus sit ipsi d. Hieronimo servire in arte sua hinc per totum mensem maij proximi futuri anni instantis sine aliquo alio salario et mercede quod salarium et mercedem intelligatur et sit comprehensum in dictis libris centum pl. Item cum pacto quod si dictus mr daniel agens ut supra aliquas pecunias exegit a sindacis terre de breno et de bienno et a sindacis de pisoneis d. S. Marie occasione picturarum per eum factarum nomine prefati d. Hieronimi quod pro illis teneatur et obligatus sit bonum et verum computum reddere de eis et ipsi d. Hieronimo satisfacere seu compensare in dictis libris centum illud totum quod per eum exactum fuit Quibus attentis et salvis premissis omni meliori modo jure via et forma et causa quibus melius de jure fieri potest partes ipse Invicem et vicissim liberaverunt et absolverunt ac liberant et absolvunt ab omni eo et toto quod sibi invicem et vicissim dicere et petere possent potuerunt et potuissent occasione predictae solutionis salvis semper premissis facientes sibi invicem et vicissim finem querentiarum remissionem et pactum de ulterius quidque non petendo salvis premissis ut, supra Et ulterius prefatus mr. Daniel agens ut supra convenit et promisit ipsi d. Hieronimo servire toto suo posse in arte pingendi per annos duos continuos proximos futuros incepturos hinc ad primam diem Junii proximi futuri anni instantis obligando se et omnia et singula sua bona presentia et futura et pro quibus d. Hieronimus teneatur et obligatus sit et ita convenit et promisit dare et solvere et numerare libras quinquaginta singulo anno solvendo singulis tribus mensis ratha parte pro salario et mercede dicti mri Danielis agentis ut supra et cum pactis modis capitulis et conventionibus de quibus in scriptis manus manu ser Pauli de fabenis uno sub die 4 Januarii 1536 et altro sub die 13 martii 1537 ad quod relatio habeatur sub pena omnium damnorum et expensarum et interesse incurrentium ipsi d. Hieronimo agenti ut supra pro predictis non sic ut supra servatis per dictum mrum Danielelem agentem ut supra et eorum causa et occasione tam in iudicio quam extra Promittendo renuntiando etc. etc.

De quibus omnibus et singulis rogatus esum ego Jo: bapta Ungaronus notarius publicum conficere instrumentum unum et plura infrascripti tenoris ad laudem sapientis.

A.S.B. Notarile Brescia Not. Ongaroni G. Battista 1545/49 N° 78

vi) Brescia, 1 April 1547⁷

⁷ Bosselli (1976): 85.

1547 Indictione quinta die primo aprilis in studio mei notarii infrascripti presentibus sp. ll. doct. Geruasio de Sancto Geruasio et Jo. Baptista Ungarone et s. petro de lizariis notario civ. et hab. Brixiae Testibus etc. adfirmantibus etc.

Cum sit quod jam uno anno proximo preterito finito die hodierna facta fuit conuentio inter d. Hyeronimum Romaninum pictorem civem et habitatorem brixiae ex una et d. xristophorum de peregrinis ciuis brixiae ex altera hoc modo. Quod idem s. Hyeronimus tenutus et obligatus fuit tenere in eius domo suis propriis expensis ipsius d. Hyeronimi Camillum fillium prefati s. xristophori per annos quattuor tunc continuos et ipsum in arte sua pictoris instruere et magistrare toto suo posse et versa vice prefatus s. xristophorus tenutus dare prefato s. Hyeronimo scutos quinquaginta auri in auro ad valorem nunc currentem in dictis quattuor annis et singulo anno ratam partem de singulis sex mensibus ratam anni et de premissi nullum factum fuerit instrumentum, jdeo predictae partes agentes pro se etc. ad mutuam stipulationem dixerunt et confesse fuerunt predictas conventiones ita factas fuisse prout stipulatum et quas etiam de nouo fecerunt et faciunt et Viterius prefatus s. xristophorus conuenit et promisit facere et curare cum effectum quod prefatus camillus perseuerabit cum prefato domino Hieronimo dicto termino annorum quatuor inceptorum ut supra et erit eidem fidelis et obediens et ab eo nunquam recedet sine eius licentia sub poena etc...

Promittendo et obligando renuntiando etc.

Rogatum per me Apollonium Bucellenum notarium ad laudem sapientis.

A.S.B. Notarile Brescia Not. Bucelleni Apollonio 1547 N.661.

3. Moretto:

i) Brescia, 5 June 1523⁸

Jehsus maria

Indictione undecima die quinta mensis Junii 1523 sub porticibus Palatii novi civitatis brixiae Presentibus Dno Theophilo de mylidiis cive et habitatore brixiae et matheo de Camoziis de gardone habitatore ibidem testibus etc.

Ibi Mr Alexander de morettis pictor civis et habitator brixiae agens etc. Convenit et solemniter promisit spectabili d. Aemilio de myliis Consuli mercatorum mercantiae brixiae libertatem et commissionem habenti (ut asseruit) a spectabilius. Collegis cuis presenti et stipulanti nomine et vice prefatae Universitatis prefatae Mercantiae, depingere vexillum cebdalis cremisini ipsius Universitatis ab utraque parte Imaginibus sanctorum martyrum faustini et Jovitte ac Justitie in eorum medio sedentis in pulcra et laudabili forma ac convenienti manitudini ipsius vexillo Juxta tenorem preceptis prelibate universitatis in hac materia capte, quod quidem vexillum sit perfectum ante festum assumptionis beate marie de mense augusti prox. fut. cum ora sive friso auri finis posito circumquaque pulcro et laudabile ac convenienti magnitudini dicti vexilli. Cum hoc tantum quod sit in libertate ipsius mri Alexandri pingendi effigies ipsorum sanctorum martyrum in forma diaconi ad una parte vexilli tantum ab altra vero armatas si ita sibi melius convenire videbit Aliter ipsi martyrum effigies ab utraque parte armatae depingantur Et hoc illo precio quod placuerit Mco Equiti d. Scipioni de lanis et predicto dno Aemilio quorum judicio et coscientiis taxationi per picturam ipsius vexilli se submisit Promittendo obligando Renuntiando etc de quibus omnibus rogatus fui ego Gaspar gravatarius notarius et.

Die 6 suprascripti mensis ad Banchum etc. Constitutus coram me notario etc. spectabilis d. Hippolytus de manthua consul et massarius predictae Universitatis viso prius per eum et intellecto suprascripto instrumento ipsum et contenta in eo ratificavit et approbavit promittendo obligando Renuntiando etc.

Presentibus spect. d. Cosma masperono et d. Jo. Baptista de schantio testibus etc. Die 9 suprascripti mensis sub porticibus pallatii novi predicti Constitutus coram me notario etc. Mcus dominus d. Scipio de lanis eques intellecto tenore suprascripti instrumenti celebrati inter prefatum d. Aemilium eius collegam et Mrum Alexandrum pictorem presentes ratificavit ipsum instrumentum cum omnibus in eo contentis. Promittendo Obligando Renuntiando etc.

Presentibus d. faustino stella et d. Hyeronimo stella notario testibus etc. (Altra copia per extenso).

A.S.B. Notarile Brescia Not. Gavattari Gaspari 1507/1557 N.2654

⁸ Bosselli (1976): 68-69

ii) Brescia, 20 October 1523⁹

Jesus Maria.

Indictione undecima die XX octobris 1523 Ad banchum etc. presentibus s. Jo. Petro psycheria et s. francisco de gandino ambobus notariis civibus et habitatoribus brixiae testibus etc.

Spectabilis vir d. Hippolytus de Mantua consul et Massarius Universitatis mercantiae brixiae agens nomine et vice prefatae Universitatis in executione taxationis nuperrime factae per Mcum equitem d. Scipionem de lanis et spec. d. Aemilium de myliis consules prelibatae Universitatis Collegas de mercede Mri Alexandri de morettis pictoris qui vexillum huius Universitatis hac proxima estate depinxit, alias remissa taxationi ex conscientiis predictorum Mci domini Scipionis et sp. D. Aemilii per ipsum Mrum Alexandrum prout constat instrumento rogato per me notarium etc. quam quidem mercedem picturae vexilli et omnium per ipsum magistrum Alexandrum in ipso vexillo repositorum taxaverunt in libris centumquingenta sex plt in totum juxta eorum conscientia habita ratione picturarum non vulgarium ipsius vexilli Actualiter et in moneta auri et argenti prefatus d. Hippolytus agens ut supra dedit soluit et numeravit predicto Mro Alexandro presenti contentati et recipienti et stipulanti etc libras trigintanovem plt pro resto et completa solutione predictarum librarum centum quinquaginta sex plt mercedis predictae et omnium ut supra per ipsum mrum Alexandrum in ipso vexillo repositorum quapropter Idem Mgr Alexandrus agens ut supra omni meliori modo etc liberavit et absolvit prefatum d. Hippolytum agentem ut supra et per eum prefatam universitatem etc. et me notarium ut publicam personam stipulantem nomine et vice memoratae Universitatis etc omnium quorum interest presentes et acceptantes a dictis libris centum quinquaginta sex pl et ab omni eo et toto quod petere posset poterat seu potuisset predictae Universitati et seu agentibus nomine ipsius universitatis occasione mercedis picturae predicti vexilli et omnium per eum in ipso vexillo repostorum ut supra Obligando Renuntiando etc.

(Altra copia per extensum)

A.S.B. Notarile Brescia Not. Gavattari Gaspare 1507/1557 N.2658

iii) Brescia, 13 April 1559¹⁰

In Xsti nomine 1559 secunda die 13 Aprilis in domibus infrascripti sp. 11 doc. d. Vincentii stelle sitis in contrata scti Michaelis, presentibus No. d. Jo. francisco rouado et d. Baptista q. d. Hyeronimi de rampinis de manerbio testibus notis ecc

Cum verse fuerint et sint diuersae controyersiae et differentiae tam in iudicio quam extra per et inter dominum Augustinum de gallis, tutorem et tutorio nomine agentem filiorum et heredum q. d. Alexandri de bonuisinis siue de morettis ex una et dominum Lucam de mombellis ciuem et habitatorem brixiae ac pictorem in dicta civitate, ex altra, causa et occasione cuiusdam obligationis facte per predictum dominum lucam de pingendo seu finiendo quosdam quadros et tabulas

⁹ Bosselli (1976): 69-70.

¹⁰ Bosselli (1976): 70-71.

dicti q. domini Alexandri imperfectos per eum relictos et quos prefatus dominus Luca in ipsa obligatione conuenerat eos perficere ac dare et soluere dictis heredibus quartam partem mercedis dictorum operum postquam perfectae fuerint se ipsis perfectis relaxare quartam partem dictae suae mercedis vz ut in ipsa obligatione de qua asseritur constare scripto manus q. d. petri foresti sub die 28 decembris 1554 ac occasione quorundorum designamentorum predicti q. domini Alexandri nuncupatorum li cingari vz numero octo quorum uigore impetrata fuerat executio contra ipsum dominum lucam ad instantiam domini Augustini interuenientis ut supra pro summa libri 26 nec non etiam occasione unius craneae a releuo similiter per ipsum d. Lucam ab ipsis heredibus habitae, quam craneam dicti heredes petebant eam sibi restitui et ex aduerso idem dominus luca pretendebat non teneri ad solutionem dictorum designamentorum numero octo, cum ea non emerit, nec sibi tradita fuerint, ipsamque craneam habuisse ad computum tamen mercedis laborum per eum factorum in extimando nonula quadra seu opera facta per ipsum dominum Alexandrum medioque et intercessionem No. d. Joannis de madiis ipsae differentiae compositae fuerint per ipsasque partes vz. Sp. J. doc. Vincentium stellam et suprascriptum dominum Augustinum gallum tutores testamentarios dictorum heredum predicti d. Alexandri et dicto nomine agentes ex una et prefatum dominum Lucam ex altra, deuentum fuit ad presentem transactionem hoc modo vz. quod prefatus d. Luchas teneatur et obligatus sit restituere, et ita restituit dictam craneam; nec non quadrum imperfectum cum figuris Sctae Mariae Elisabeth, nec non Beatae Mariae Virginis cum filio in eo modo et forma prout quadrum illud traditum fuerat prefato domino luce qui amplius illud perficere non teneatur Item cum pacto quod prefati tutores teneantur et ipsi domino luce dicta designamenta numero octo cingarorum nec non etiam monile seu colanam auream ipsi domino luce pro pignore acceptam causa et occasione suprascripte executionis, et ut ita dicta designamenta et colanam cum effectu designauerunt et tradiderunt prefato domino luce in presentia queque partes ipse teneantur se inuicem liberare et ita se inuicem liberauerunt facto prius diligenti calculo rationis inter eas occasione omnium premissorum connexorum dependentiumque ab eisdem. ab omni et toto eo pro una pars alteri, et e conuerso petere et consequi poset occasione omnium que inuicem agere habuerunt usque in presentem diem facientes ad inuicem generalem et plenariam liberationem quietem et pactum de amplius quicquam non petendo; quodque liberatio ipsa se extendat ad non etiam specificata, confitentes quotiens opus sit ipsi tutores habuisse dicta quadra a dicto d. lucha perfecta de quibus in dicta obligatione seu scripto exepo dicto quadro sibi restituto imperfecto ut supra satisfactosque fuisse tam pro dicto quarto mercedis quam pro designamentis a releuo in ipso scripto nominatis promittentes obligantes ecc.

A.S.B. Notarile Brescia Not. Bonini Massimiliano 1555/61 N 2857

Chronology

Date	History and Religion	Moretto	Romanino
1426	Venice aquires Brescia. Wars in Lombardy.		
1428	Brescia and Bergamo become part of the Venetian Empire		
1438	Siege of Brescia by Niccolò Piccinino, commander-in-general of the Milanese forces. Siege abandoned after the divine intervention of Saints Faustino and Giovita		
1484/87			Birth of Girolamo di Romano di Luchino, called Il Romanino
1489	Vincenzo Foppa is appointed as official painter to the City of Brescia with an annual salary of 100 lire planet. Foppa suggests to establish a local school for painters and sculptors. ¹		Foppa paints frescoes (lost) for the Loggetta, Piazza della Loggia.

¹ Ffoulkes and Maioecchi, Vincenzo Foppa, pp.164-5 and 182-3; docs. 52 and 53. On the role of official artist, see Hope, Charles, ‘Titian’s Role as Official Painter to the Venetian State’, Tiziano e Venezia, Vicenza, 1980, pp.301-304.

1494 *Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII of France.*
Foppa's position as official painter to the Commune is made redundant: increased taxation for the financing of the Venetian army.

1495 *Invasion of Naples by King Ferdinand of Aragon*

1497 *Etore Vernazza founds the first Oratory of Divine Love in Genoa.*

1498 Alessandro Bonvicino, Called Il Moretto, son of Pietro Bonvicino, is born in Brescia.

1499 *Invasion of Italy by Louis XII of France. Conquest of Milan. Expulsion of Ludovico Sforza from Milan*
Venice occupies Cremona (until 1509).

1506 *Foundation stone laid in Rome for the new St. Peter's.*
Publication of a Czech Vernacular Bible in Venice.

1508-17 *Wars of the League of Cambrai.*
(Louis XII against Venice)

1507-08 Virgin and Child (Paris, Louvre).

1508 *Pope Julius II granted the Spanish Crown the right to found dioceses in the New World and to nominate the benefice-holders.*

'Hyeronimus et Joannes Jacobus fratres pictores q Rumanini de Rumanò ...stipulano il contratto di garzonaggio di G. Francesco da Parma'.² (26 June 1508)

Secular fresco cycle for the palace at Ghedi of Niccolò Orsini, Count of Pittigliano, from 1504
Captain-General of the Venetian army.
Fragments survive in the Szépművészeti Muzeum, Budapest.

1509 *14 May Defeat of the Venetian army at Agnadello by the troops of the League of Cambrai
First Dominican mission to the Caribbean.*

Virgin and Child with Sts. Marta, Onofrio, Anthony of Padua and Roch (San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia).

Entombment (Accademia, Venice).

1510

² A.S.B. Notarile Brescia Not. Florio Stefano 1495/1511 N. 2105, quoted in Boselli, Camillo, Regesto Artistico dei Notai Roganti in Brescia dall'Anno 1500 All'Anno 1560. Supplement to CAB, 1976, p.271.

October: Michelangelo completes the Sistine Chapel ceiling in Rome.
 1511-1512: Sts. Peter and Paul (Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlung).
Sts. John the Baptist and Augustine; Sts. Bartholomew and Jerome (Private Collection, Milan).
 1512: Virgin and Child Enthroned with Sts. George and Maurice (?), and Sts. Peter and Paul presenting the donors (San Pietro, Tavernola Bergamasca, Bergamo).

Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints (fig.21) ;
Last Supper (fig.22) (Padua, Museo Civico)¹

Brescia falls to the French.
Sack of Brescia: Civilian casualties of 22,000.
Numerous Brescian nobles beheaded by the French. The French commander D'Aubigny hands Brescia to the Spanish/Imperial troops under Cardona.
French withdrawal from Northern Italy after defeat at Ravenna

Fifth Lateran Council convened by Julius II (until 1517)

Julius II dies. Succeeded by Leo X (Medici).
In November, refounding of the University of Rome
Battle of Novara
Vasco Nuñez de Balboa reaches the Pacific.

According to Faino, Moretto frescoes a chapel in Santa Croce, Brescia, with a cycle of the Life of St. Mary Magdalen. The frescoes are lost.

¹ Archivio Civico di Padova, Museo Civico, Libro FA; Baldoria, N., Fabbrica di S. Giustina, Padua, 1891, vol.I, p.19.

1515	Swiss defeat in the Battle of Marignano. King Francois I occupies Milan.	Moretto and Floriano Ferramola are commissioned by the Commune of Brescia to decorate the new organ for the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia.	Stories from the Life of St. Onofrio (frescoes) (Sanctuary of Sant'Onofrio, Bovezzo). Executed with the assistance of Altobello Melone.
1516	Peace of Noyen: Brescia is handed back to Venice. Venice orders the 'Spianata' of Brescia: an area of five hundred cavezzi (ca 1 mile) had to be cleared around the walls of Brescia for defensive purposes. ⁴	Alexander de Bonvicinis Pictor attends his first meeting of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia.	Penitent St. Jerome (Pinacoteca Martinengo, Brescia). Salome (Bode Museum, Berlin)
			Tosio

⁴ Bayer, Andrea, 'Brescia after the League of Cambrai. Moretto, Romanino and the Arts'. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Princeton, 1991, pp. 192 ff.

<p>1517</p> <p><i>Publication of Erasmus' Greek New Testament.</i></p> <p><i>Luther's 95 Theses against Indulgences (31st October)</i></p>	<p>Reunion of the Brescian <i>Collegio generale dei pittori</i> in the church of San Luca, Brescia (19 April).</p> <p>Both Moretto and Romanino attend.</p>	<p><u>Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints and Donors</u> (fig.4). High altarpiece for San Francesco, Brescia, previously commissioned of Leonardo da Vinci.⁵</p> <p><u>Virgin and Child with Saints Boaventura and Sebastian</u> (Santa Maria Annunciata, Salò)</p> <p><u>Virgin and Child with Sts. Louis of Toulouse and Roch, and three Angels</u> (destroyed; formerly Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin).</p> <p>1 October Cremona; Romanino, Paolo da Drizzona and Giovanni Battista da Piadena estimate the frescoes executed by Altobello Melone for the cathedral of Cremona.</p> <p>Romanino starts work on frescoes of the <u>Passion of Christ</u> for Cremona Cathedral: <u>Christ Before Caiaphas</u>; <u>The Flagellation of Christ</u> (fig.24); <u>Crowning with Thorns</u>; <u>Ecce Homo</u>.</p>
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<p>5 August Emperor Maximilian denounces Luther as a heretic in a letter to Cajetan.</p> <p>Johann Mentelin's German Bible published at Augsburg.</p>	<p>Completion of the Organ shutters for the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia: the shutters are signed 15 August 1518, payment received 20 September (BQB, <u>Liber bulettatum fabrice ecclesie maioris</u> I, c.72 r.) (fig.6).</p>
<p>Christ Carrying the Cross and a Worshipper (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo).</p>	

⁵ Guerrini, P., 'Noterelle di arte bresciana, 8, Una grande pala d'altare progettata da Leonardo da Vinci per la Chiesa inferiore di San Francesco in Brescia', MSDB, XXI, 1954, pp.261-265.

1519

Luther denies the primacy of the pope
Death of Emperor Maximilian
28 June Election of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor in Frankfurt
1519-21 Hernando Cortés destroys the Aztec Empire.

Marquis Federico Gonzaga of Mantua asks Romanino in a letter (26 June) to honour an agreement with the court astrologer Paris Ceresara to paint the facade of Ceresara's palace in Mantua. Romanino does not fulfil the commission, which is executed by Pordenone instead.
Commission for further frescoes for Cremona cathedral (31 December).

1520

15 June: the Bull "Exsurge, Domine" censures 41 of Luther's theses as heretical. Luther publishes De Captivitate Babylonica, an attack on the sacramental system of the church, and in particular, on the notion of the Mass.
Death of Raphael.

Moretto is elected into the Council of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament of the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia (ADB, Registro + della Scuola del Scaramento, c.70).
Christ and the Samaritan Woman (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo)
Agony in the Garden (Milan, Private Collection)
Virgin and Child with Sts. Nicholas of Tolentino and Anthony of Padua (National Gallery, London)
Sts. Jerome and Dorothy adoring Christ in the Tomb (Santa Maria in Calchera, Brescia)
The Coronation of the Virgin Mary with Sts. Augustine, Silvia, Monica, Gregory the Great and two Lateran Canons (San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia).

<p>1521</p> <p><i>Luther is excommunicated.</i> <i>26 May Edict of Worms</i> <i>1 December Death of Pope Leo X</i> <i>Ban on the circulation of Lutheran books in Spain.</i></p>	<p>21 March: contract signed between Romanino, Moretto and representatives of the Confraternity of the Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista for decoration of their chapel</p> <p><u>Exaltation of the Relic of the True Cross</u> (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).</p>	<p>Moretto and Romanino start work on the <u>Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista</u>, Brescia.</p> <p>Mass of <u>St. Apollonius</u> for Santa Maria in Calchera, Brescia</p>
<p>1522</p> <p><i>French defeat in Bicocca.</i> <i>Publication of Martin Luther's New Testament (translated with Melanchthon's assistance) at Wittenberg.</i> <i>Arrival of Titian's <u>Resurrection</u></i> <i><u>Polyptych</u> for Santi Nazaro e Celso, Brescia, commissioned by Altobello Averoldi, apostolic protonotary.⁶</i></p>	<p>4 September: Moretto is documented in Padua (Padua, Archivio Capitolare, <u>Quaderni della Sagrestia</u>, 1516-22, c.16).</p> <p><u>Madonna of the Carmelites</u> (Venice, Accademia) <u>Madonna of Mercy and two Flagellants</u> (Rotonda Canoviana, Possagno, Vicenza).</p>	

⁶ Tassi, Roberto, Il Politico Averoldi in San Nazaro, Brescia (1976).

<p>1523</p> <p><i>Publication of Luther's Old Testament at Wittenberg.</i></p>	<p>5 June: Moretto signs the contract for the Standard for the Collegio della Mercanzia (ASB, Notarile 2654). Payment received 20 October (ASB, Notarile 2658).</p>	<p><u>Virgin and Child</u> (San Pietro, Calvagese, Brescia). <u>Virgin and Child</u> (Hermitage, St. Petersburg).</p>
	<p><u>Drunkenness of Noah</u> (Biella, Fenaroli Collection) <u>Moses sweetens the waters of Mara</u> (Bettoni Cazzago Collection, Brescia). <u>The Brazen Serpent</u> (Private Collection, Brescia). All three works originally formed a triptych.</p>	
<p>1524</p> <p><i>Diluvian Floods are prophesied for February 1524; the prophesy was interpreted as "divine sign".⁷ French defeat in Milan. Cajetan and Gian Pietro Carafa (Pope Paul IV) found the Theatines. Publication of a Danis Vernacular Bible in Leipzig; based on Luther's German 1522 version</i></p>	<p>10 January: date on the portrait of <u>Fra Gerolamo Savonarola</u> (Museo Civico, Verona). Moretto is commissioned to paint an <u>Assumption</u> for the High Altar of the Duomo Vecchio, Brescia.</p>	<p>Work on the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista is completed. Completion of works on the Chapel of the Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia. Payment records. 1524-1525: <u>God the Father, the Four Evangelists; the Four Fathers of the Church</u> (fresco, San Francesco, Brescia). <u>Christ in Limbo</u> (fresco, fragment survives, San Francesco, Brescia). <u>Adoration of the Shepherds</u> (Gosford House, Haddington).</p>

⁷ The relation between the expected flood and the Reformation has been noted on by Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation, Oxford (1994), pp.123-126, discusses Johann Stoeffler's prophesy from 1499 in detail. Se also Niccoli, Ottavia, Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy, Princeton (1990), pp. 140 ff.

- 1525

Peasants' Revolt in Germany (until 1526).
Capture of Francois I at Pavia.

Moses and the Burning Thornbush (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia)
Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Roch, Martin and Sebastian (Santa Maria della Grazie, Brescia)
Virgin and Child in Glory with the Infant St. John the Baptist, and Sts. Peter, Lawrence, Catherine of Alexandria, Paul, and a donor (San Lorenzo, Manerbio, Brescia)).

Nativity Polyptych (National Gallery, London).
Sant'Andrea, Cathedral of Asola. Contract for organ shutters (1 December 1524). Shutters executed in Brescia, transported to Asola 1525.

1526

The Brescian Council deliberates about a commission for a fresco depicting the 'Translation of the bodies of Sts. Faustino and Giovita above the entrance to San Faustino in Riposo at Brescia. No painter mentioned (ASCB, Liber Provisionum Communis Brixiae, n.530, c.85 v.). Payments are discussed 3 November and 7 December (ASCB, Liber Provisionum Communis Brixiae, n.530, c.138r; c.150r.). Dutch Bible published in Antwerp.

13 July: Moretto receives 55 lire for his altarpiece of the Assumption for the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia (BQB, Liber bulettatum fabrice ecclesie maioris I, c.76 v.).

Portrait of a Member of the Avogadro Family (London, National Gallery)
Assumption of the Virgin (Duomo Vecchio, Brescia)
Supper at Emmaus (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).

Resurrection of Christ (SS. Gervasio e Protasio, Parish Church of Capiolo) for Alessandro Averoldi.
Life of Sant'Obizio (frescoes, San Salvatore).
1526-1528: Virgin and Child Enthroned with Sts. Roch and Sebastian; Sts. Jerome, Filastrio; St. Roch distributing Alms (frescoes, San Filastrio, Villongo, Bergamo).

1527

Sack of Rome by Imperial troops under Charles V. Pope Clement VII imprisoned in the Castel Sant'Angelo.

The Holy Family with Sts. Elizabeth, Infant St. John the Baptist and a donor (Sant'Andrea Apostolo, Pralboino).

The Confraternity of the Sacrament of San Sepolcro, Milan, holds a Forty-Hour devotion outside of Holy Week.

*Renée of France marries Ercole d'Este
of Ferrara; Ferrara becomes a haven
for evangelical reform
Recognition of Matteo da Bascio's
Capuchins by Papal Bull Religionis
zelus.*

8 December: Moretto receives letter from Lorenzo Lotto, offering him collaboration in the project for the decoration of the choir of S. Maria Maggiore in Bergamo (Begni Redona (1988): 593-594).

Virgin and Child Enthroned with Sts. Roch and Sebastian (Sant'Andrea Apostolo; Pralboino).

19 July Publication of the minority decision or protest (hence Protestants) signed by several princes and 14 Cities
French defeat at Landriano. Francois I abandons claims to Italy.
The state of Florence banishes Antonio Bucioli for referring to Luther and Bucer.
Turkish Forces besiege Vienna
Establishment of the Capuchins at Rome.

26 January: Moretto receives payment for designs executed for the choir of S. Maria Maggiore, Bergamo (Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica, Liber Fabricae Chori et Reformationis factae, c.75, Archivio della Misericordia).
Moretto buys up land just north of Brescia (Costalunga).

Designs for *intarsie* for Legno, executed by Fra Raffaele da Brescia (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).
Deposition of Christ (Formerly Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin).
Last Supper (Corpo di Cristo, Brescia).
Virgin and Child with the Infant St. John the Baptist; Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well; Supper at Emmaus; Supper in the House of the Pharisee (frescoes for San Nicola, Rodengo Saiano, Brescia. Supper at Emmaus and Supper in the House of the Pharisee in Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).

St. Margaret of Antioch with Sts. Jerome and Francis, San Francesco d'Assisi, Brescia.
Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. John Evangelist, Augustine, John Baptist, and two donors (San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia)
Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Martin and Catherine of Alexandria (San Martino Vescovo, Porzano di Leno)
Virgin and Child Enthroned with Sts. Dominic, Joseph, Vincent Ferrer, Lucy and a Donor (Chiesa dell'Ospedale, Brescia)
Assumption of the Virgin, polyptych for Santa Maria degli Angeli, Gardone Valtrompia (dismembered, with fragments in Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera; Paris, Louvre, Brescia, Private Collection).
Fresco of the Annunciation (façade of San Cristo, Brescia)
Virgin and Child and Infant St. John Baptist in Glory, with Sts. Benedict, Paterio, Eufemia and Giustina (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).
St. Anthony of Padua with Sts. Anthony Abbot and Nicola da Tolentino (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia)

Diet of Augsburg
Charles V crowned Emperor in Bologna.
French translation of the Bible by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples published at Antwerp (New Testament published in 1523; Old Testament in 1528).
Publication of the Zürich Bible, translated by Zwingli and based on Luther's version.

1530-35		<p><u>Sacrifice of Isaac</u>; <u>Elijah Comforted by the Angel</u>; <u>St. Mark</u>; <u>St. Luke</u> (Chapel of the Sacrament, Duomo Vecchio, Brescia).</p> <p><u>St. Anthony Abbot</u> (Santuario di Auro, Comero)</p> <p><u>Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr</u> (Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan)</p> <p><u>St. Peter</u> (Accademia, Venice)</p> <p><u>St. John Baptist</u> (Accademia, Venice)</p>
1531-32	<p><i>Emergence of the Schmalkaldic League</i></p> <p><i>1532 Publication of Brucioli's Italian Bible at Venice</i></p> <p><i>1532-1536 Conquest of Peru by Pizarro.</i></p>	<p><u>Murder of the Innocents</u> (fig.20) (San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia)</p> <p><u>The Erithraen Sibyl</u> (Escorial)</p> <p><u>The Prophet Isaiah</u> (Escorial)</p> <p><u>St. Giustina and a donor</u> (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)</p> <p>Sojourn in Trent. Work on secular frescoes for the decoration of the Magno Palazzo, Castello del Bounconsiglio, for Cardinal Bernardo Clesio. Collaboration with Dosso and Battista Dossi and Marcello Fogolino.</p> <p>1532: <u>Ovidian Stories</u> (Casa Martinengo, Brescia).</p>
1533	<p><i>The pope authorises the rule of the Barnabites (Clerks Regular of St. Paul); founded by Antonio Maria Zaccaria from Cremona.</i></p> <p><i>Czech Bible published at Prague, based on Erasmus' version, not the Vulgate.</i></p>	<p><u>Crucifixion</u> Fresco, survives in fragmentary state. Disciplina di San Nazaro, Brescia).</p>
1534	<p><i>Anabaptist Rising at Münster</i></p> <p><i>13 October Election of Alessandro Farnese as Pope Paul III.</i></p> <p><i>Publication of Luther's High German Bible.</i></p>	<p><u>Apparition of the Virgin to the Deafmute Filippo Viotti</u> (Sanctuary, Paitone)</p> <p><u>Coronation of the Virgin with Sts. Michael the Archangel, Joseph, Nicholas of Bari and Francis of Assisi</u> (SS. Nazaro e Celso, Brescia).</p> <p>1534-1535: <u>Stories from the Life of St. Dominic</u> (frescoes, destroyed, for San Domenico, Brescia).</p>

1535

Death of Francesco Sforza at Milan.
Succession dispute between Charles V and Francois I.
Calvin's first edition of the Institution of the Christian Religion.

St. John the Baptist takes leave from his parents;
St. John the Baptist preaches at the River Jordan;
St. John the Evangelist; St. John the Baptist
(organ shutters) (San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia)

Scenes from the Life of Christ; Prophets and Sibyls (Sanctuary of Santa Maria della Neve, Pisogne).
Battlescene with a burning castle; the Battle of Riccardina; The Pauline Peace of 1468 and The Consignment of the Command against the Turks to Colleoni by Pope Paul II; Two putti with the arms of the Colleoni and Martinengo families (Castello Colleoni, Malpaga).

1536

Confirmation of the Capuchin Rule by Paul III.
Foundation of the Ursulines in Brescia by Angela Merici.
Introduction of the Forty-Hours Devotion into Brescia by Fra Giovanni Piantanida da Fermo.⁸
French invasion of Turin and parts of the Duchy of Savoy.
Calvin in Geneva.
The French King blocks the convocation of a Council at Mantua.
Conquest of Colombia

Adoration of the Shepherds (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia)
Virgin and Child Enthroned with Sts. Andrew, Eusebia, Domno and Domneone (Sant'Andrea apostolo, Bergamo)

Christ and the Twelve Apostles; St. Mark; Christ at the Column (organ shutters, Sant'Andrea, Asola).
Stories from the Life of Daniel (Sant'Antonio, Breno).

<p>1537</p>	<p><i>Paul III commissions a series of reform suggestions, the Consilium de emendanda ecclesia of Gasparo Contarini, Carafa, Sadoletto, Reginald Pole and Gian Matteo Giberti.</i></p>	<p><i>The Jesuits present their Constitutionales to Pope Paul III. Foundation of a Dominican province in Peru.</i></p>	<p>24 November: Moretto receives payment for the altarpiece of the <u>Virgin and Child Enthroned with Sts. Andrew, Eusebia, Domno and Domneone</u> for Sant'Andrea apostolo, Bergamo (Bergamo, Archivio di Stato, Notarile 2210).</p>	<p><u>Virgin and Child with two donors</u> (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena).</p>
<p>1539</p>			<p><u>Pala Rovelli: St. Nicholas of Bari presenting the pupils of Galeazzo Rovelli to the Virgin and Child</u> (Pinacoteca Tosio-Martinengo, Brescia).</p>	
<p>1540</p>	<p><i>Publication in Venice of the Beneficio di Jesu Christo Imperial Diet at Speyer</i></p>	<p><u>The Virgin in Glory with Sts. Cecilia, Lucy, Catherine, Barbara and Agnes</u> (fig.35) (San Giorgio in Braida, Verona)</p> <p><u>Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Onofrius and Anthony Abbot</u> (Verona, Sant'Eufemia)</p> <p><u>Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Hippolytus and Catherine of Alexandria</u> (fig.34) (National Gallery, London).</p> <p><u>Adoration of the Shepherds with Sts. Faustino and Celso</u> (SS. Nazaro e Celso, Brescia).</p> <p><u>Eucharistic Christ with Sts. Cosmas and Damian</u> (fig.54) (SS. Cosma e Damiano, Marmantino).</p> <p><u>Christ in Glory consigning the keys to St. Peter and the book of doctrine to St. Paul</u> (fig.32) (San Nicola, Rodengo).</p>	<p><u>Betrothal of the Virgin; Nativity and Visitation</u> (organ shutters, Duomo Nuovo, Brescia).</p> <p><u>St. George before the Judges</u> (fig.38); <u>Two Episodes from the Martyrdom of St. George</u> (figs.36; 37) (organ shutters, San Giorgio in Braida, Verona).</p> <p><u>Flagellation of Christ, Madonna of Mercy with Sts. Francis and Anthony of Padua</u> (processional banner, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).</p>	

1541	<i>Failure of the Conference of Regensburg to resolve spiritual differences between Catholics and Protestants</i>	<u>The Virgin and St. Elizabeth in Glory with two donors</u> for Santa Maria della Ghiagia, Verona.	<u>Adoration of the Magi</u> (organ shutters) (SS. Nazaro e Celso, Brescia).
	<i>Death of Contarini</i>	Destroyed in WWII in Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.	<u>Life of the Virgin</u> (frescoes, Santa Maria Annunciata, Bienno).
1542	<i>Calvin returns to Geneva.</i>	4 May: Moretto receives the commission for the altarpiece of the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in SS. Nazaro e Celso, Brescia of the <u>Eucharistic Christ with Moses and Solomon</u> (Brescia, Archivio di San Nazaro, <u>Libro della Scuola del Sacramento</u> , c.3).	
	<i>Publication of a Hungarian Vernacular Bible at Sárovar.</i>	<u>The Conversion of St. Paul</u> (Santa Maria presso San Celso, Milan).	
1543	<i>Pope Paul III reinstates the Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition.</i>	<u>Adoration of the Shepherds</u> (Staatliche Museen, Berlin).	
	<i>Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti announces reform decrees at Verona.</i>	<u>Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Catherine of Alexandria and Claire.</u> and Sts. Jerome, Joseph, Bernardino da Siena, Francis of Assisi and Nicholas of Bari (National Gallery, London)	
1543	<i>Pietro Aretino writes to Giorgio Vasari about a portrait painted by Moretto and passed on to the Duke of Urbino (Begni Redona (1988): 601).</i>	<u>Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Francis, the Archangel Michael and a donor</u> (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).	<u>Virgin and Child with Two Angels</u> (Museo Diocesano, Brescia).
	<i>Publication of the Spanish New Testament: placed on the Index in 1559.</i>	<u>Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Jerome, Francis of Assisi and Anthony Abbot</u> (Brera, Milan).	<u>Virgin and Child</u> (Private Collection, Brescia).
		<u>Pentecost</u> (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).	<u>Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria</u> with Sts. Lawrence and Ursula (Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Memphis).
			<u>Last Supper</u> (Santa Maria Nuova, Montichiari).

1544 Moretto receives a letter from Pietro Aretino: 'et ciò mi è parso per honorar Brescia procreatrice del vostro divino intelletto' (Begni Redona (1988): 601.

Supper in the House of the Pharisee (Diocesan Museum, Venice)
Virgin and Child Enthroned with the Four Fathers of the Church (Städelsches Museum, Frankfurt).

Convocation of the Council of Trent; held in three separate sessions: 1545-47; 1551-52; 1562-63. The Council opens on 13th December. Massacre of the Waldenses in Provence
First show trial of the Roman Inquisition at Lucca.

1545

Virgin and Child in Glory flanked by Sts. Joseph and Francis, with Sts. Jerome, Louis of Toulouse, Anthony of Padua, Claire, and Cardinal Uberto Gambara (fig.33) (Sant'Andrea Apostolo, Pralboino)
Eucharistic Christ with Sts. Bartholomew and Roch (fig.55) (San Bartolommeo apostolo).
Coronation of the Virgin Mary (Banca San Paolo, Brescia).
The Wedding at Cana (Istituto Leone XIII, Milan).
Virgin and Child Enthroned with Sts. Zeno, Andrew and Jerome (SS. Silvestro e Michele Archangelo, Calvisano).
Virgin and Child Enthroned with Sts. Bartholomew and Jerome (the Virgin of the Pears) (Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome)

Virgin and Child crowned by two angels (Palazzo della Congrega della Carità Apostolica, Brescia).

Christ Mourned by Two Angels (Ospitaletto Bresciano, Brescia).
Virgin and Child with Sts. Sebastian, Bernardino da Siena, Dominic and Roch (San Bernardino da Siena, Roncadelle).
Resurrection of Christ (fig.29); St. Apollonius with Sts. Faustino and Giovita (processional standard) (SS. Faustino e Giovita, Brescia).
The Good Samaritan (Collection Ilaria Toesca, Rome).
Sts. Peter, Leonard and Jerome (Collection Avv. Giovanni Brunelli, Brescia).
Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine and a Bishop saint (San Silvestro, Calvisano).
Adoration of the Shepherds (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).

1546 *Council moved from Trent to Bologna because of an outbreak of the plague at Trent.*

Christ Carrying the Cross (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo).
Virgin and Child (Ospedali Civili, Brescia).
Assumption of the Virgin (Sant'Alessandro in Colonna, Bergamo).
Siege of Sagunto (Gabinetto dei Disegni, Uffizi, Florence).

1547 *Venetian state establishes the Savvi sopra Eresia*

The Virgin Crowned by the Trinity with Sts. Dominic, Paul, Thomas of Aquinas, Peter Martyr, Antoninus, Vincent Ferrer, Peter Faustino and Giovita (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).
Virgin and Child with Angels and Sts. Adauto, Januarius, Felix, Anthony Abbott and John the Evangelist (SS. Felice e Adauto, San Felice del Benaco).
Pietà with Sts. Paul, Joseph, Mary Magdalen and Mary of Egypt (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).
Virgin and Child with Sts. Nicholas and Dorothy (Pala del Canonico Antonio Fati Tabarelli) (Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Trent).
Lamentation of Christ with St. Andrew (San Giorgio e Sacro Cuore, Cizzago).

1548

Publication of an Index of Prohibited Books at Siena.
Publication in Rome of Ignatius Loyola's Spiritual Exercises.
Opening of the first Jesuit School in Messina.

Polizza d'Estimo: 'Mi, Alessandro Bonvicino di età de anni circha cinquanta' (ASCB, Polizze d'estimo degli artisti bresciani), see Begni Redona (1988): 602-603).
Virgin and Child with Sts. Clement, Floriano, Dominic, Mary Magdalene and Catherine of Alexandria, San Clemente, Brescia.

Virgin and Child with Sts. Cecilia, Infant John the Baptist and Catherine of Alexandria (location unknown).
Virgin and Child and St. Paul (Banca San Paolo, Brescia).
Ecce Homo (Niedersächsische Landesgalerie, Hannover).

Publication of the Venetian Index of Prohibited Books.

1549

St. Paul with Sts. Jerome, John the Baptist, Mary Magdalen, Catherine and Angels (Pala Avogadro) (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).

Virgin and Child with Sts. Lawrence, Stephen, Andrew and Mark (Sant'Andrea, Pralboino).

12 April: Baptism of his daughter Caterina.

Sts. Lucy, Cecilia, Barbara, Agatha and Agnes (San Clemente, Brescia)

St. Ursula and her companions (San Clemente, Brescia)

St. Ursula and her companions (Castello Sforzesco, Milan)

Faith (Hermitage, St. Petersburg)

Virgin and Child in Glory with St. John the Evangelist, the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani and the Allegory of Divine Wisdom (fig.39) (Chapel of the Palazzo Vescovile, Brescia).

The Nativity with St. Jerome and a Donor (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).

Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Roch, Sebastian and Zeno (San Rocco, Mazano).

Christ and the Angel (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).

The Flight of Simon Magus; The Fall of Simon Magus; Sts. Peter and Paul supporting the Edifice of the Church figs. 43;44;45) (organ shutters) (Seminario Diocesano, Brescia).

Council of Trent resumes in September with Session 12.

Appointment of Palestrina as Papal choirmaster.

1552 *Second Schmalkaldic War* 18 April: Baptism of his son Giovanni Vincenzo
In April, the suspension of the Council *Giuseppe.*
is discussed and agreed.

31st August Foundation of the Jesuit
College (Collegium Romanum).
Jesuit Missionaries arrive in China
(St. Francis Xavier).

1553 *Publication of the Spanish Old*
Testament (Ferrara Bible) by a Jewish
press at Ferrara.

The Four Seasons; Two Putti; Two Allegorical
Figures (Palazzo Lechi (formerly Bargnani and
Valotti), Brescia).

19 May: Baptism of his daughter Giulia (Isabella?).
 9 November: Moretto makes his testament (ASB, Notarile 58, Fondo Cigola. Begni Redona (1988): 607-609).⁹
 Death of Moretto (before 22 December).

Supper in the House of the Pharisee (Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo).
Eucharistic Christ with Sts. John the Baptist and Pancrazio (San Pancrazio, Gorlago).
The Trinity Crowning the Virgin, with Sts. Peter and Paul and the Allegories of Peace and Justice (fig.41) (Centro Pastorale Paolo VI, Brescia).
Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Martin, Bernard, Faustino and Giovita (SS. Faustino e Giovita, Sarezzo).
Assumption of the Virgin (Santa Maria Assunta, Maguzzano).
The Meeting of Melchisedek and Abraham (San Clemente, Brescia)
Lamentation of the Dead Christ (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).
The Paschal Meal; The Meeting of Abraham and Melchisedek (Chapel of the Sacrament, Duomo Vecchio, Brescia).

⁹ Volta, V., 'Il testamento del Moretto', CAB, CLXXXVI, 1987, pp.203-220.

*Election of Gian Pietro Carafa as Pope Paul IV.
Renée of Ferrara forced publicly to abjure heresy.*

1555

Decoration of the Palazzo Averoldi (frescoes; with Lattanzio Gambara) (Palazzo Averoldi, Brescia).
Four Seasons (frescoes, with Lattanzio Gambara) (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Trieste)
Fame and the Arts of the Quadrivium (frescoes, with Lattanzio Gambara) (Location unknown).

1557

Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria (Private Collection, Brescia).
Gathering of Manna; Moses striking the Rock and sweetening the waters (Duomo Vecchio, Brescia).

1558

The Calling of St. Peter (San Pietro, Modena).

French withdrawal from Italy: treaty of Cateau-Cambresis.

1559

Death of Romanino?
1559-1560: Baptism of Christ; Scenes from the Life of Christ (frescoes, with Lattanzio Gambara) (Monastery of Sant'Eufemia, Brescia).

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Illustrations

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Fig.1 Romanino, Gerolamo, St. Matthew (Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia), 1521-1524.

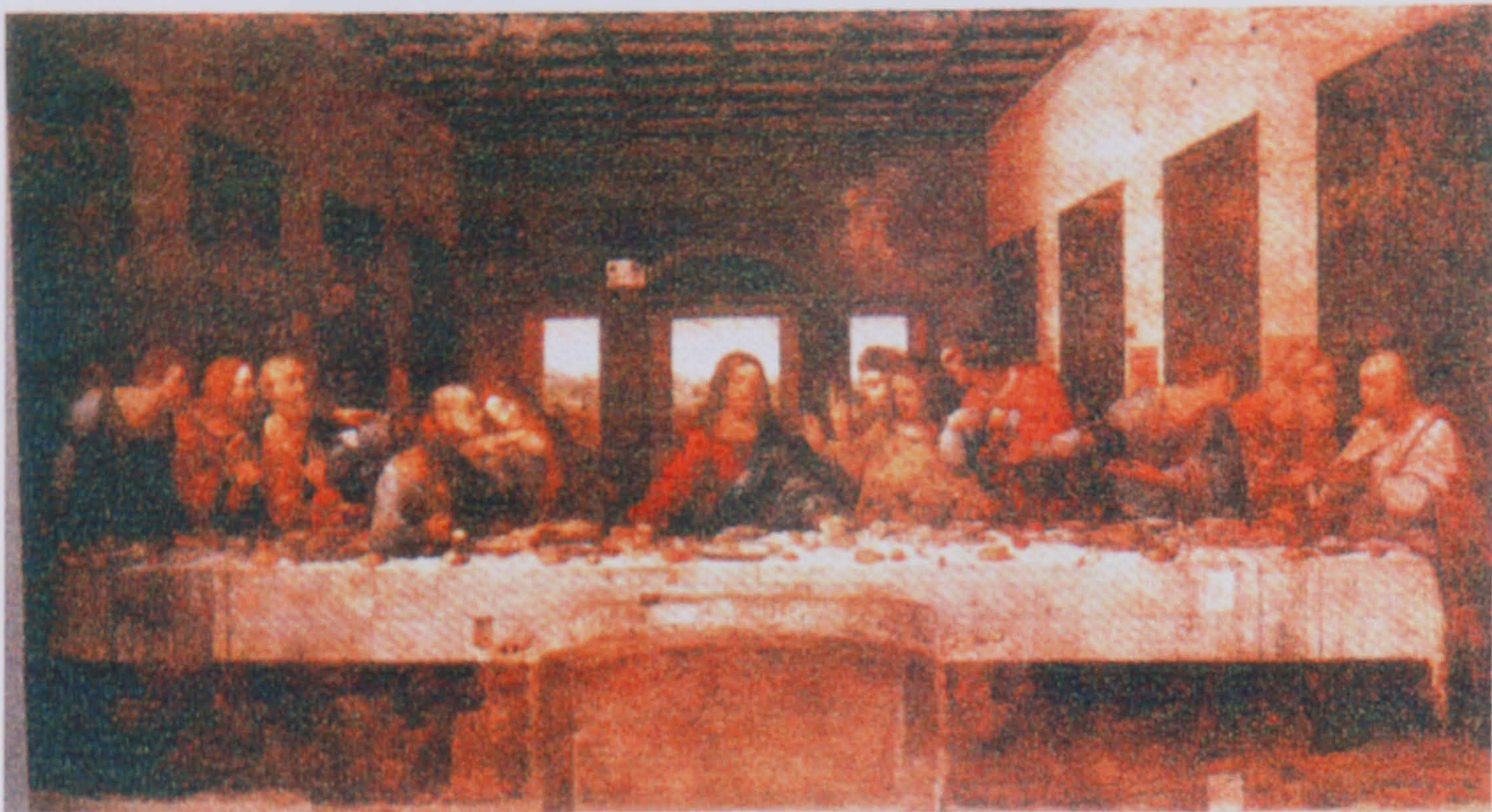


Fig.2 Leonardo da Vinci, The Last Supper (Refectory, S. Maria delle Grazie, Milan), 1495-1497.



Fig.3 Luini, Bernardino, Christ Among the Doctors (National Gallery, London), 1515-1530.



Fig.4 Romanino, Gerolamo, Virgin and Child Enthroned with Donors (San Francesco d'Assisi, Brescia), 1517.

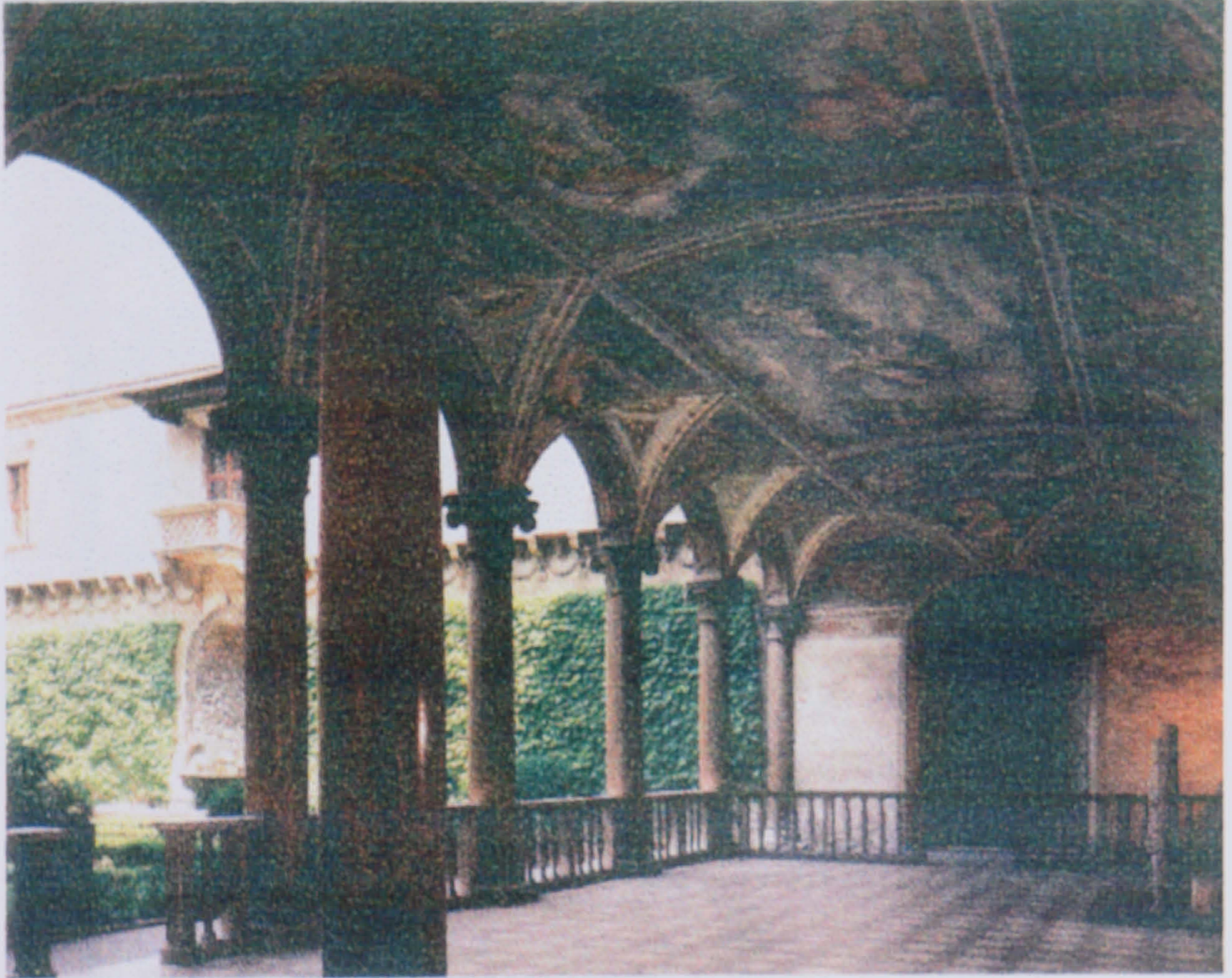


Fig.5 Romanino, Gerolamo, The Carriage of Phaeton (Cortile dei Leoni, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trent), 1531-1532.



Fig. 6 Moretto, Sts. Faustino and Giovita on Horseback (Santa maria in Valvendra, Lovere), 1518



Fig.7 Dosso, Dossi, Costabili Polyptych (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Ferrara), 1513-1514.

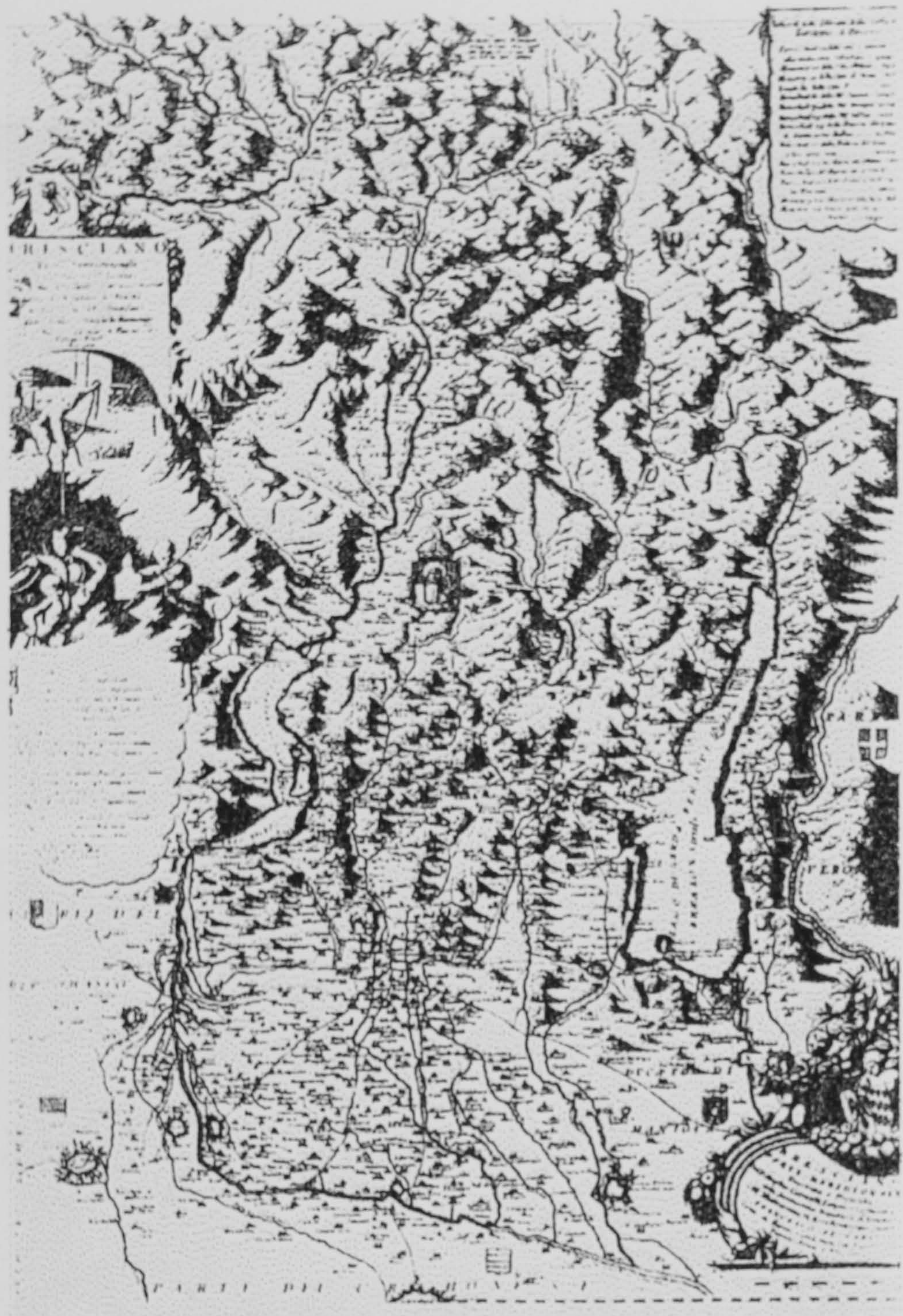


Fig.8 Anonymous, A Map of the Bresciano (1695)

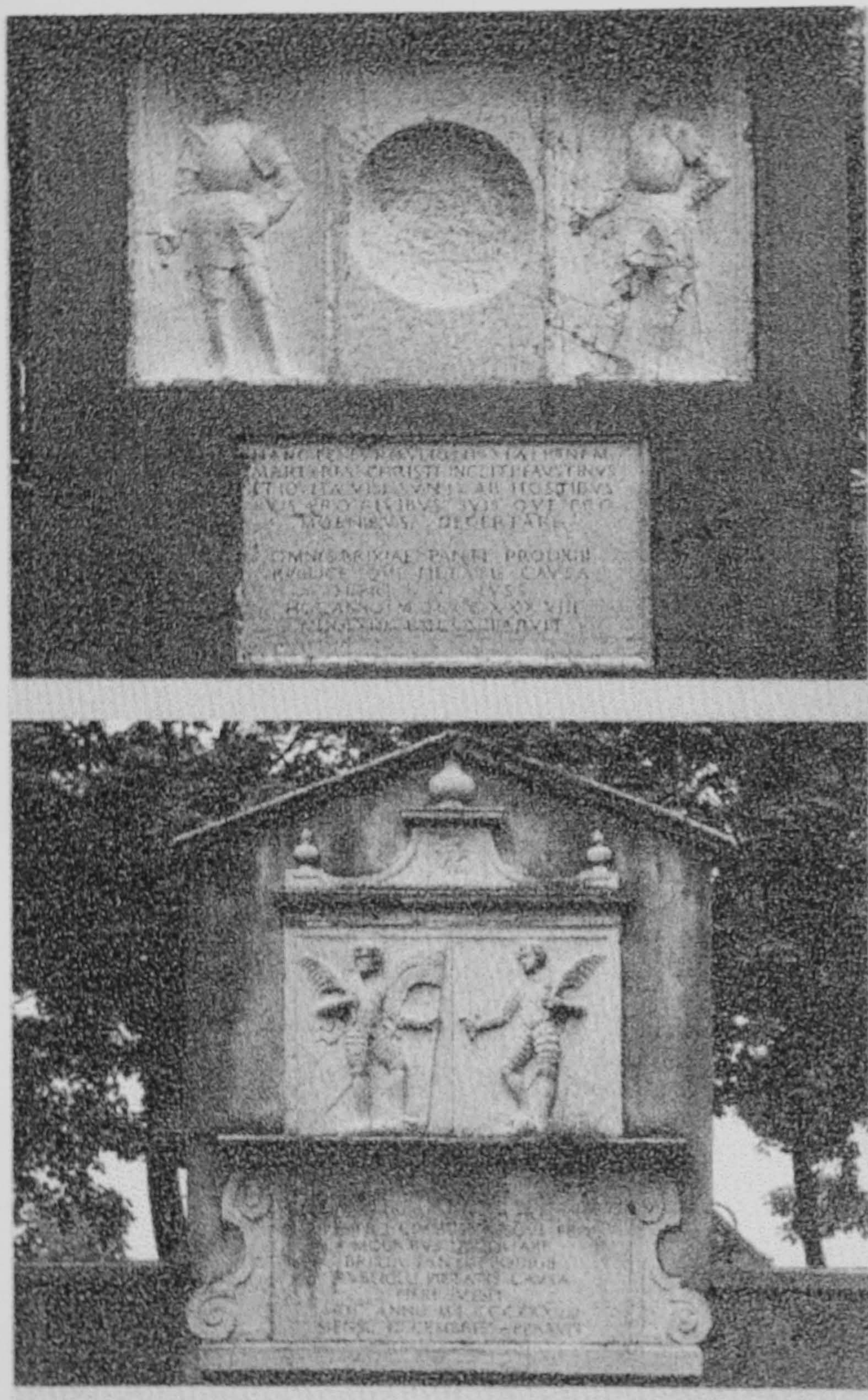


Fig.9 (top)

Anon., Monument to Sts. Faustino and Giovita (reverse), (Via Brigia Avogadro, Brescia), ca. 1585.

Fig. 10 (below)

Anon., Monument to Sts. Faustino and Giovita (obverse), (Via Brigida Avogadro, Brescia), ca. 1585.

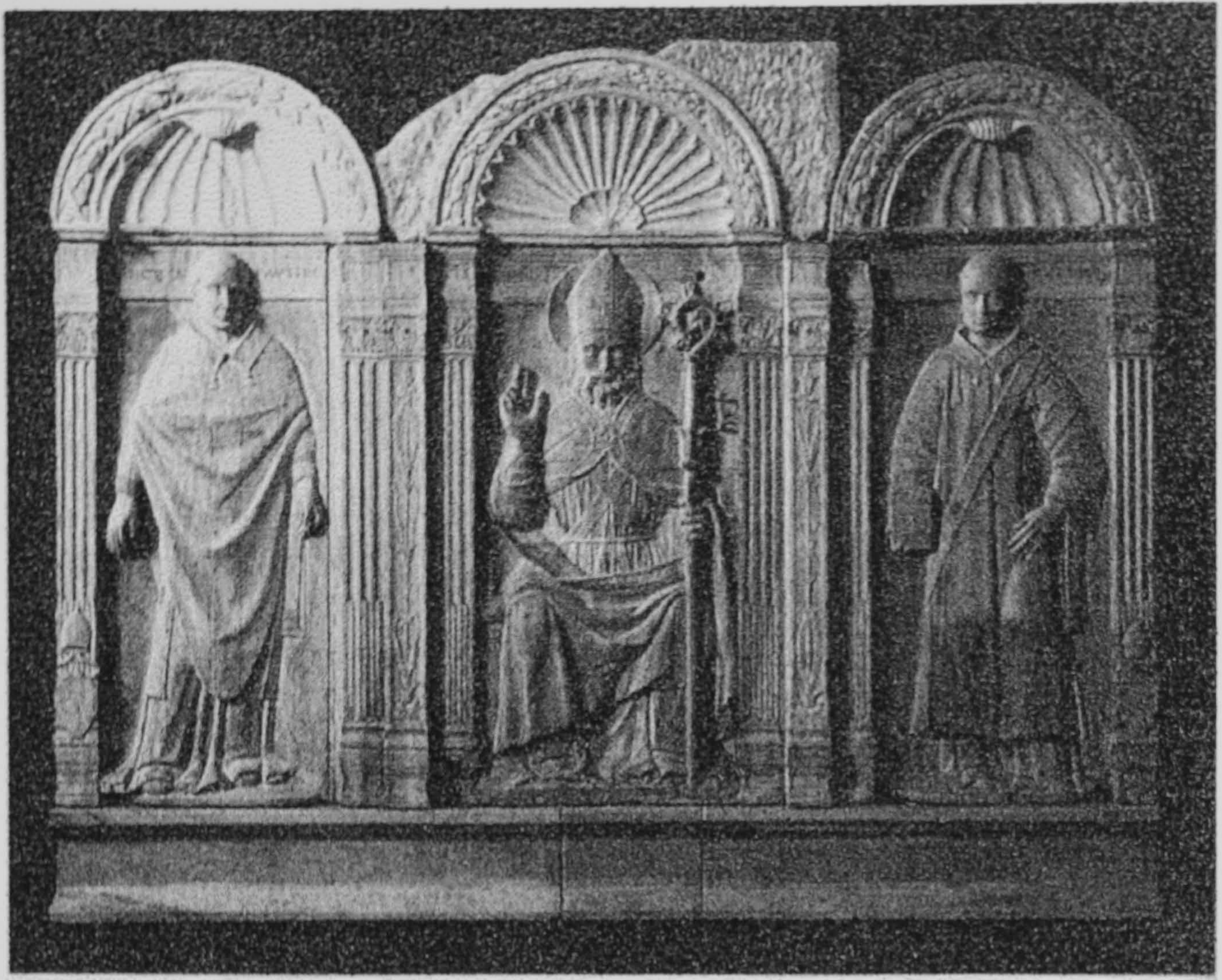


Fig. 11 Anon., Marble Relief with Sts. Faustino, Giovita and Honorius (Santa Giulia, Brescia), end of 15th century.

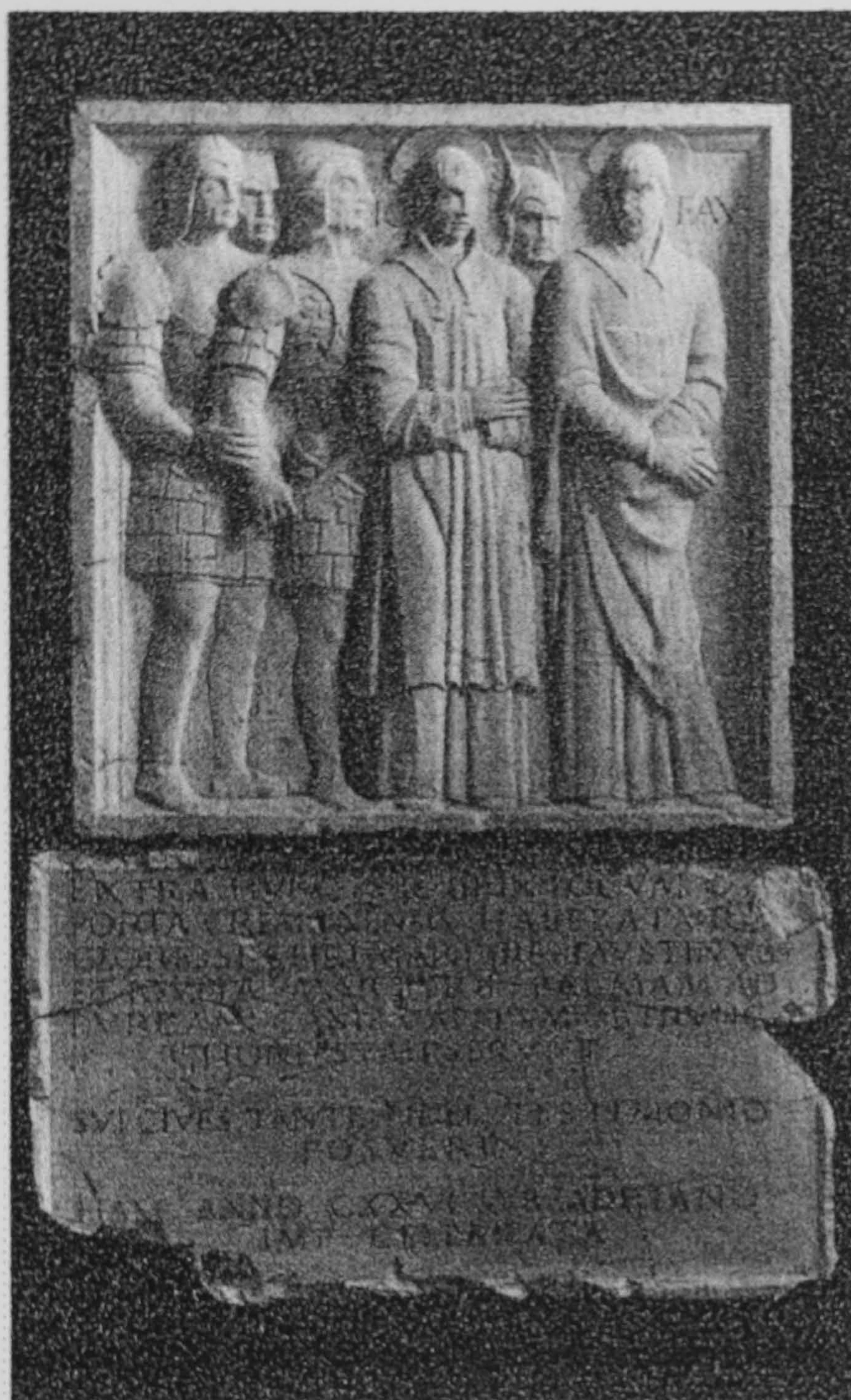


Fig. 12 Anon., Marble Relief with Sts. Faustino and Giovita led to the Judge
 (Santa Giulia, Brescia), end of 15th century.



Fig. 13 Anon., Map of Brescia (BQB ms.H.V.5.), 1472.

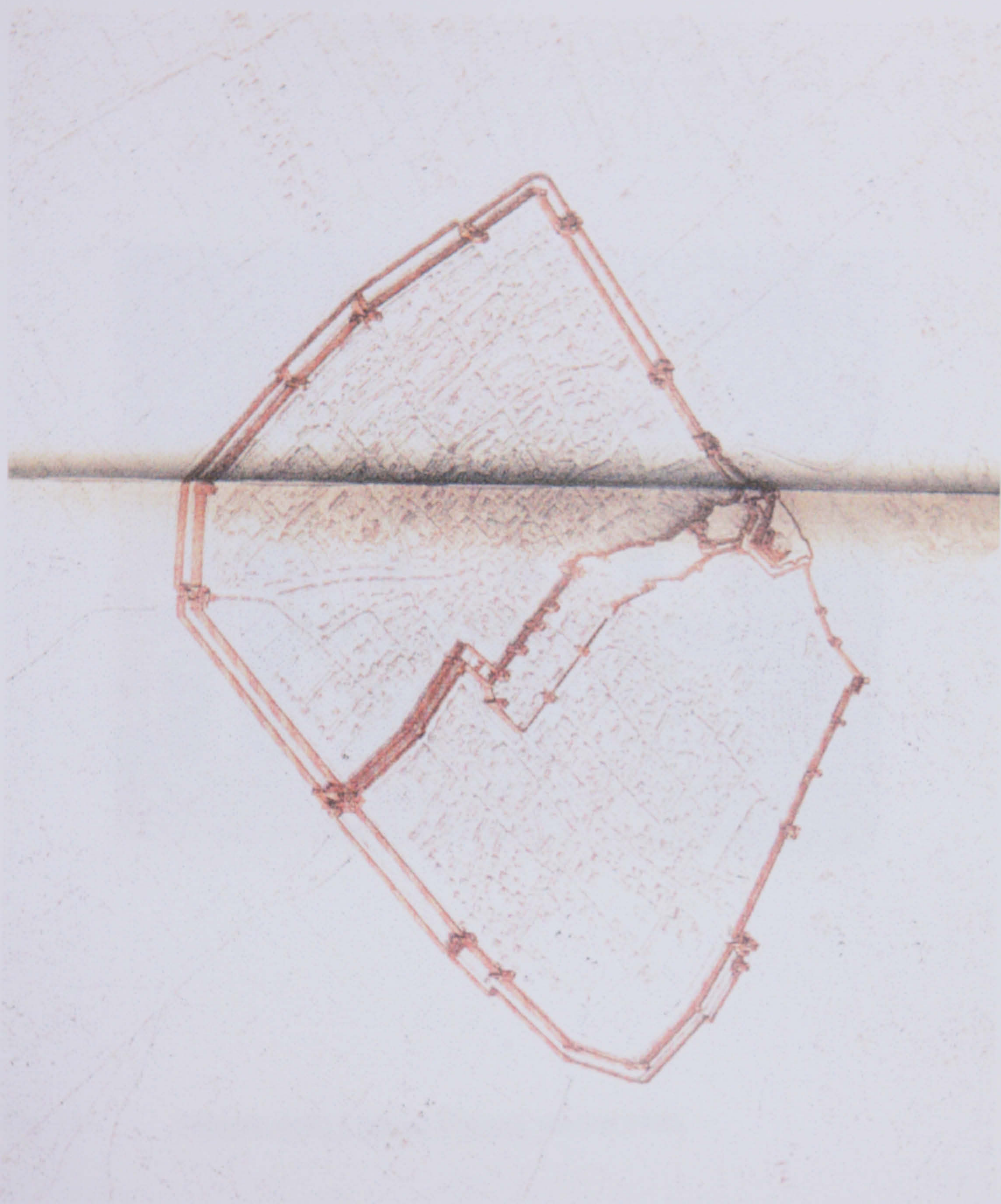


Fig. 14 Reconstruction of Brescia's appearance in 1426



Fig. 15 Palazzo della Loggia, Brescia, started 1493.



Fig.16 Ferramola, Floriano, A Tournament in Brescia (Victoria & Albert Museum, London), 1516.



Fig.17

Loggia dei Monti di Pietà (Brescia), 1488.



Fig.18 Leonardo da Vinci, Madonna of the Rocks (National Gallery, London), ca.1508.



Fig.19

Foppa, Vincenzo, Virgin and Child with Saints, and the donor Giovan Matteo Bottigella and Bianca Visconti (Musei Civici del Castello, Pavia), 1485-1490.



Fig.20

Moretto, Murder of the Innocents (San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia), 1531-1532,

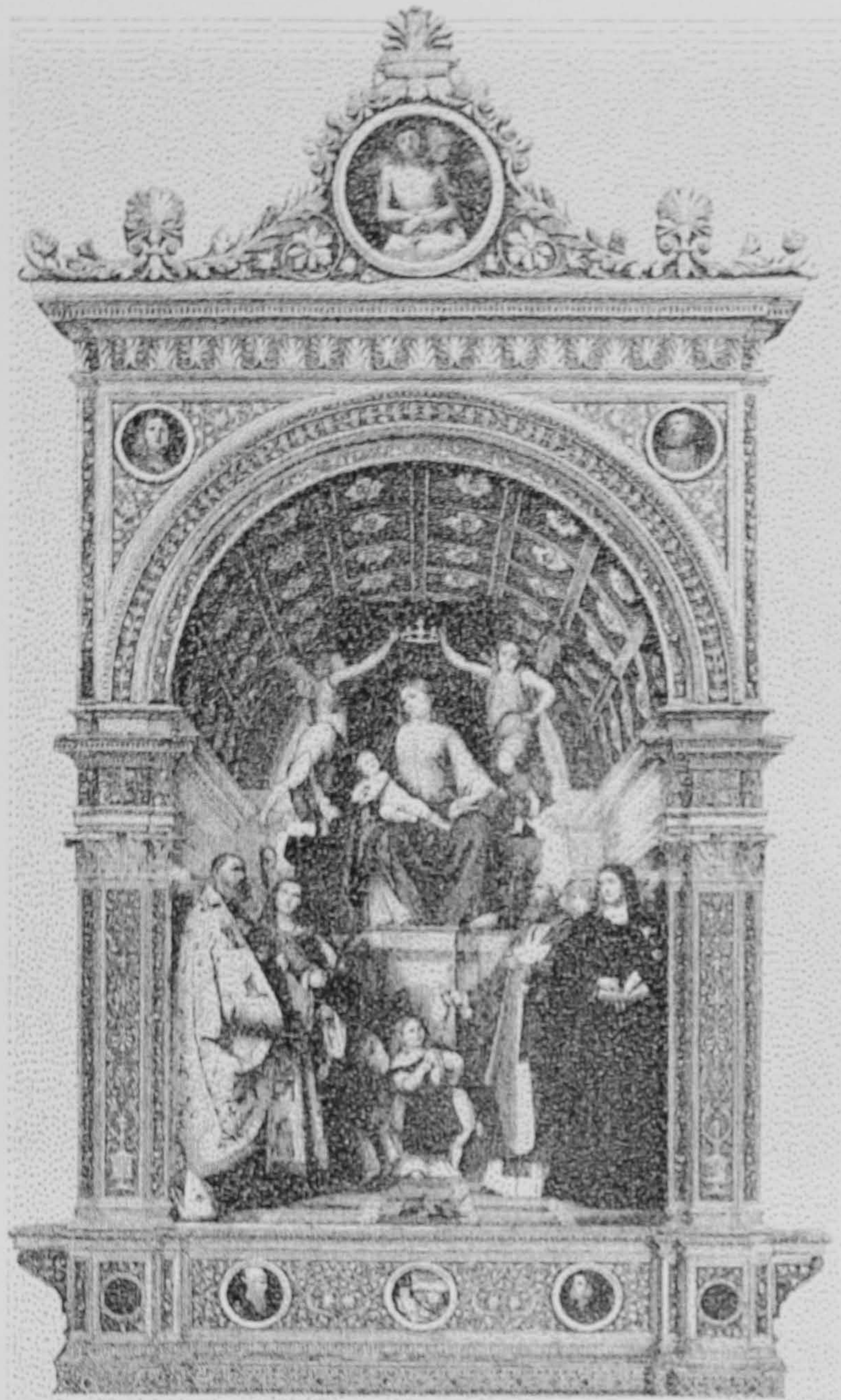


Fig.21

Romanino, Gerolamo, Virgin and Child with Saints (Pala Giustina)
(Museo Civico, Padua), 1513.

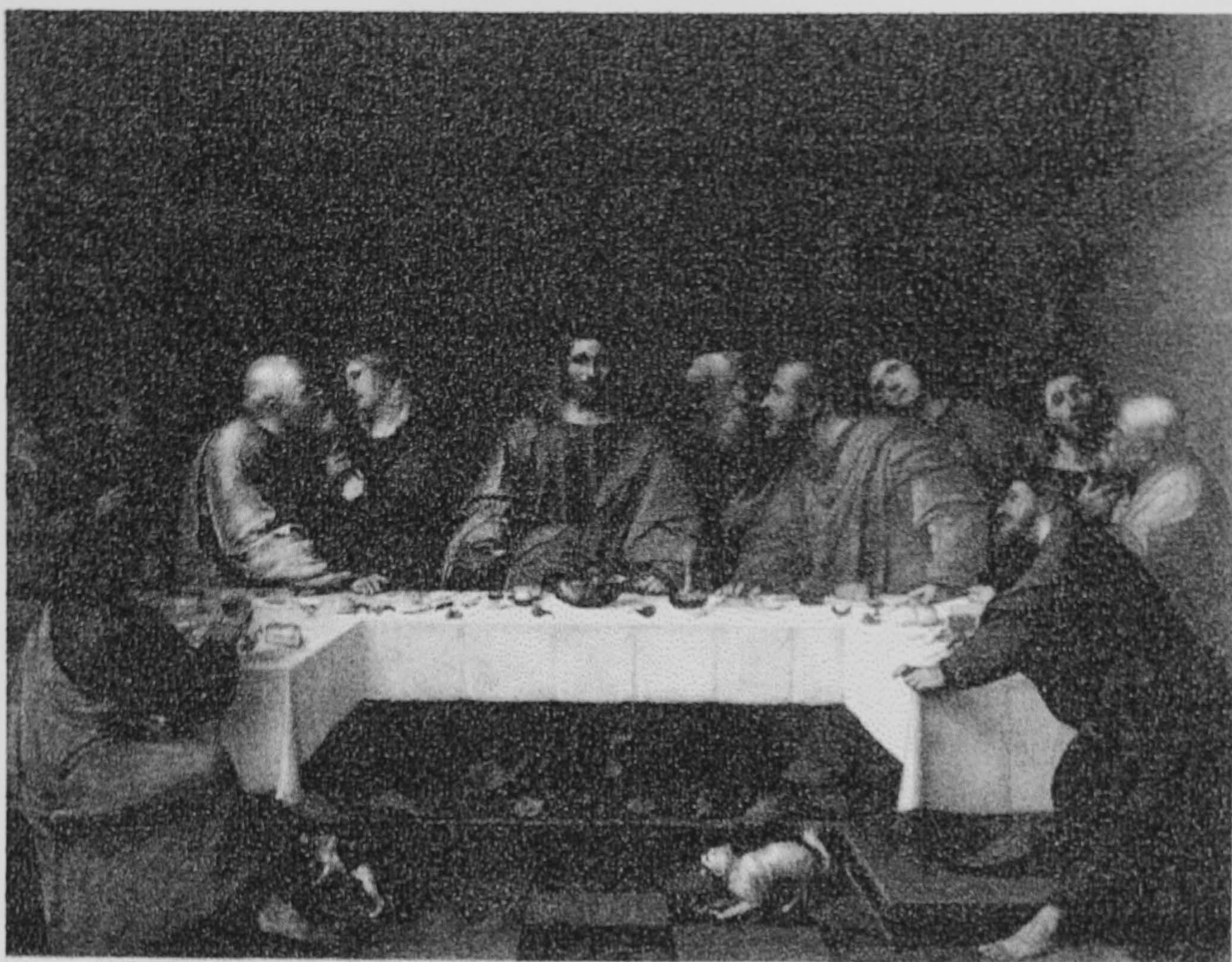


Fig.22

Romanino, Gerolamo, Last Supper (Museo Civico, Padua), 1513



Fig. 23

Romanino, Gerolamo, Mass of St. Apollonius (Santa Maria in Calchera, Brescia), 1521-1522.



Fig.24

Romanino, Gerolamo, Christ before Caiaphas and The Flagellation of Christ (Cremona Cathedral), 1519.



Fig. 25 Gritti, Pompeo, Bernardino da Feltre (Santa Maria in Calchera, Brescia), ca. 1730.



Fig.28 (left)

Romanino, Gerolamo, Resurrection of Christ (processional standard, reverse, SS. Faustino e Giovita, Brescia), 1544-1545.



Fig.26 (right)

Romanino, Gerolamo, Mass of St. Apollonius (processional standard, obverse, SS. Faustino e Giovita, Brescia), 1544-1545.



Fig.27

Romanino, Gerolamo, Mass of St. Apollonius (Private Collection, Florence), ca. 1547-1548.



Fig.29

Romanino, Gerolamo, Resurrection of Christ (SS. Gervasio e Protasio, Capriolo), 1526.



Fig.30

Titian, Resurrection of Christ (Averoldi Polyptych) (SS.Nazaro e Celso, Brescia), 1519-1522.

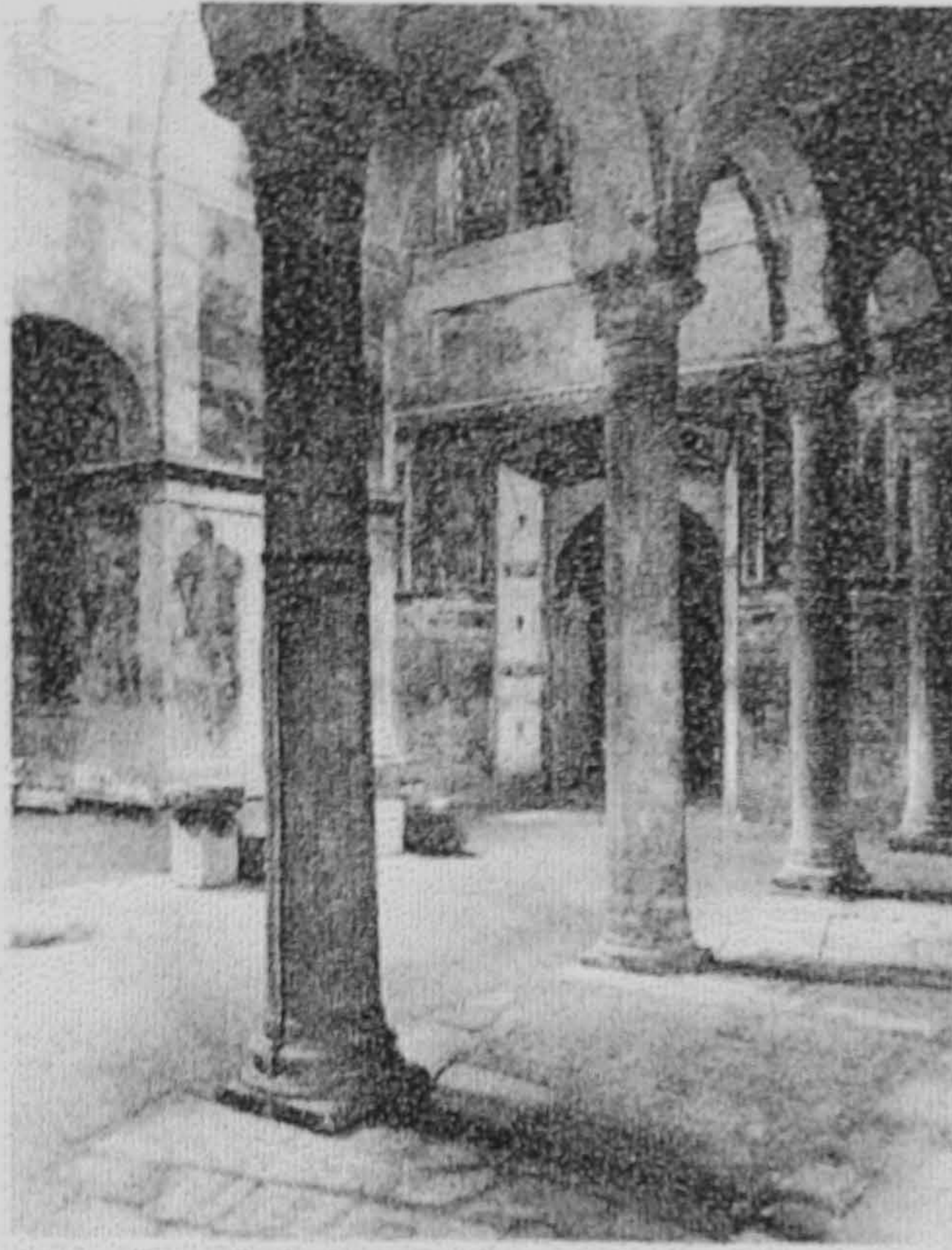


Fig.31 Romanino, Gerolamo, Chapel of St. Obizio (St.Obizio with a Worshipper) (Chapel of St. Obizio, San Salvatore, Brescia), 1526-1530.



Fig.32 Moretto, Christ in Glory consigning the keys to St. Peter and the Book of Doctrines to St. Paul (S. Nicola, Rodengo), ca.1540.



Fig.33

Moretto, Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Joseph and Francis, and Sts. Jerome, Louis of Toulouse, Anthony of Padua, Claire, and the donor Uberto Gambarà (Sant'Andrea Apostolo, Pralboino), 1540-1545.



Fig.34

Moretto, Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Hippolytus and Catherine of Alexandria (National Gallery, London), 1540.



Fig.35

Moretto, Virgin and Child in Glory with Sts. Catherine of Alexandria, Lucy, Cecilia, Barbara and Agnes (San Giorgio in Braida, Verona), 1540.

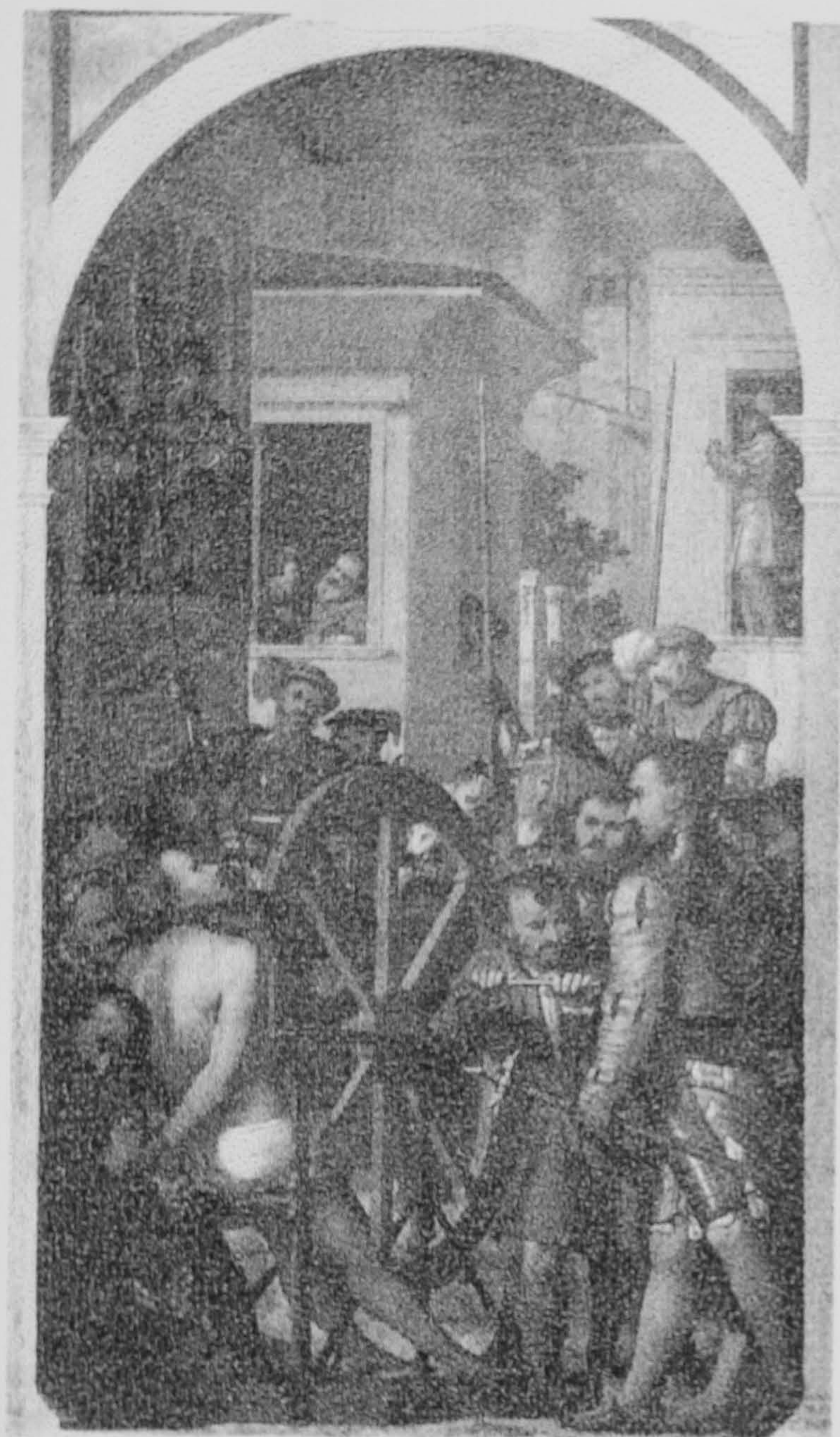


Fig.36

Romanino, Gerolamo, The Martyrdom of St. George (shutters open, San Giorgio in Braida, Verona), 1540.



Fig.37

Romanino, Gerolamo, The Martyrdom of St. George (shutters open, San Giorgio in Braida, Verona), 1540.



Fig.38

Romanino, Gerolamo, St. George before the Judges (shutters closed, San Giorgio in Braida, Verona), 1540.



Fig.39

Moretto, Virgin and Child in Glory with St. John the Evangelist, the Blessed Lodovico Giustiniani and the Allegory of Divine Wisdom (Chapel of the Palazzo Vescovile, Brescia), 1545-1550.



Fig.40 (detail of 39): Moretto, The Blessed Lodovico Giustiniani and the Allegory of Divine Wisdom (Chapel of the Palazzo Vescovile, Brescia), 1545-1550.



Fig.41

Moretto, The Trinity Crowning the Virgin, Sts. Peter and Paul and the Allegories of Peace and Justice (Centro Pastorale Paolo VI, Brescia), 1550.



Fig.42 (detail of 41): The Angel with the Tablets of Stone (Centro Pastorale Paolo VI, Brescia), 1550.



Fig.43

Moretto, The Flight of Simon Magus (Shutters open, Seminario Diocesano, Brescia), 1550.



Fig.44 Moretto, The Fall of Simon Magus (shutters open, Seminario
Diocesano, Brescia), 1550.



Fig.45

Moretto, Sts. Peter and Paul supporting the edifice of the Church
(shutters closed, Seminario Diocesano, Brescia), 1550.



Fig.46 Moretto, Elijah and the Angel (Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia), 1521-1524.



Fig.47 Moretto, Gathering of Manna (Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia), 1521-1524.



Fig.48 Moretto, The Last Supper (Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia), 1521-1524.



Fig.49

Moretto, The Prophet David (Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia), 1521-1524.



Fig.50 Moretto, The Evangelist St. Luke (Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia), 1521-1524.

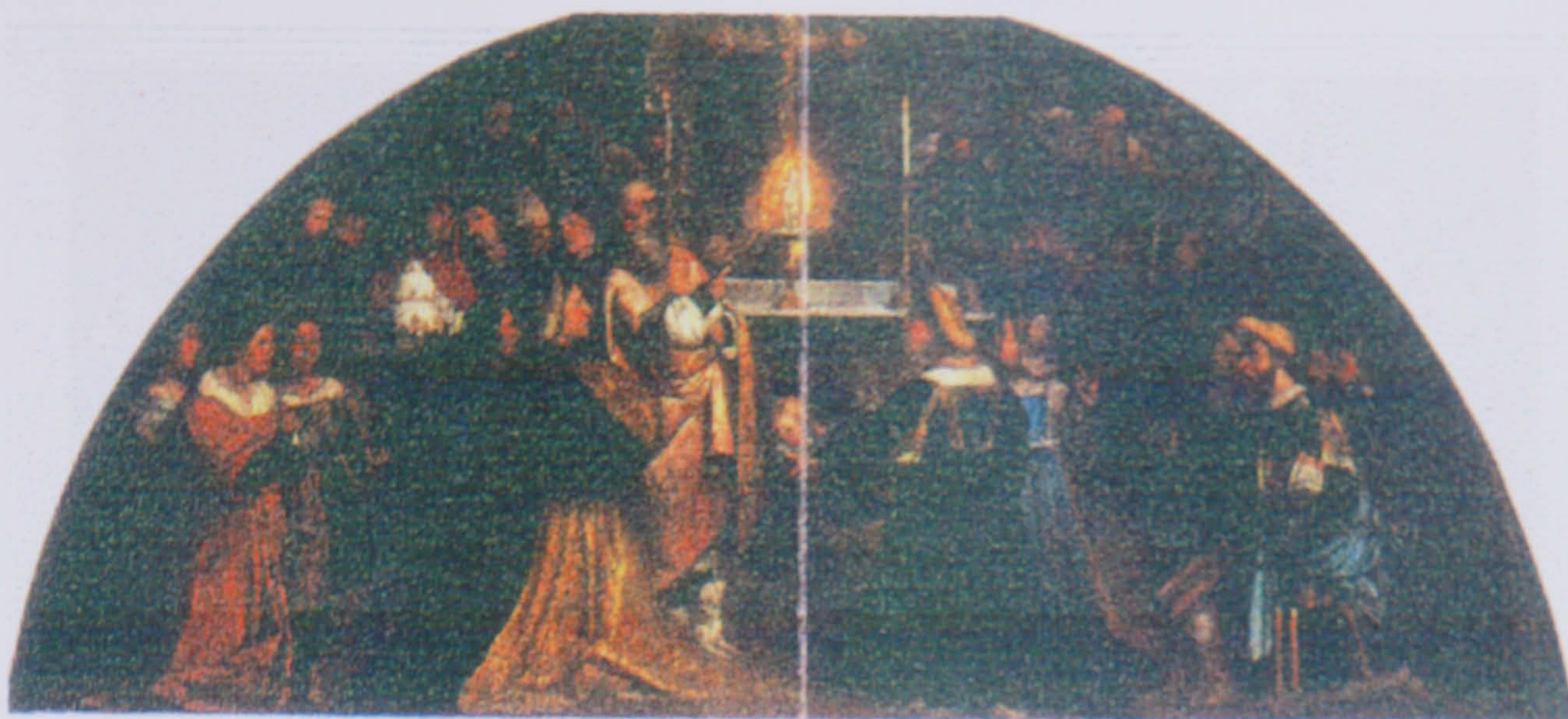


Fig.51 Romanino, Gerolamo, The Miracle of the Eucharist (Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia), 1521-1524.



Fig.52 Romanino, Gerolamo, The Raising of Lazarus (Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia), 1521-1524.

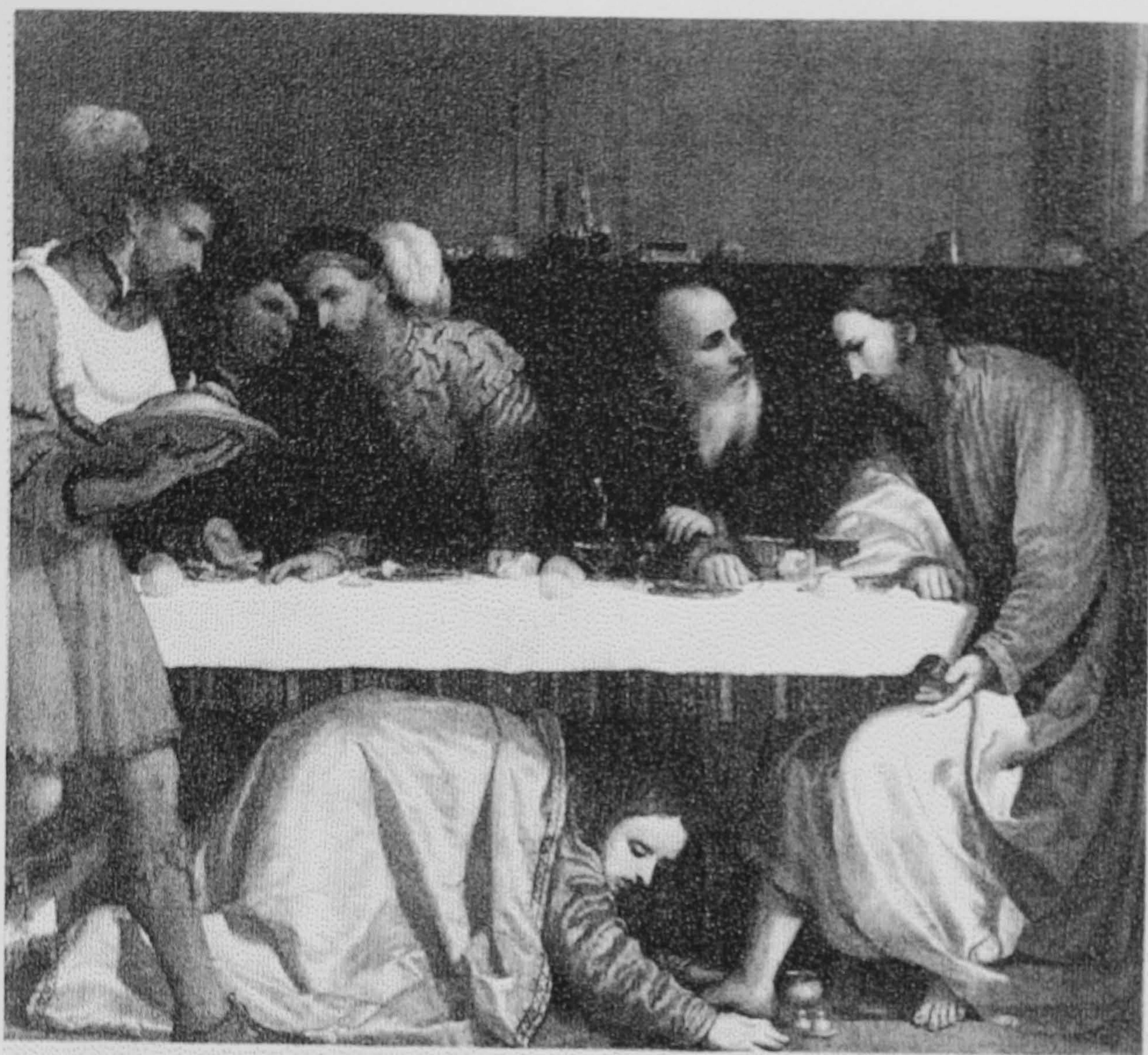


Fig.53

Romanino, Gerolamo, The Supper in the House of the Pharisee (Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, San Giovanni Evangelista), 1521-1524.



Fig.54

Moretto, Eucharistic Christ with Sts. Cosmas and Damian (SS. Cosma e Damiano, Marmentino), 1540.

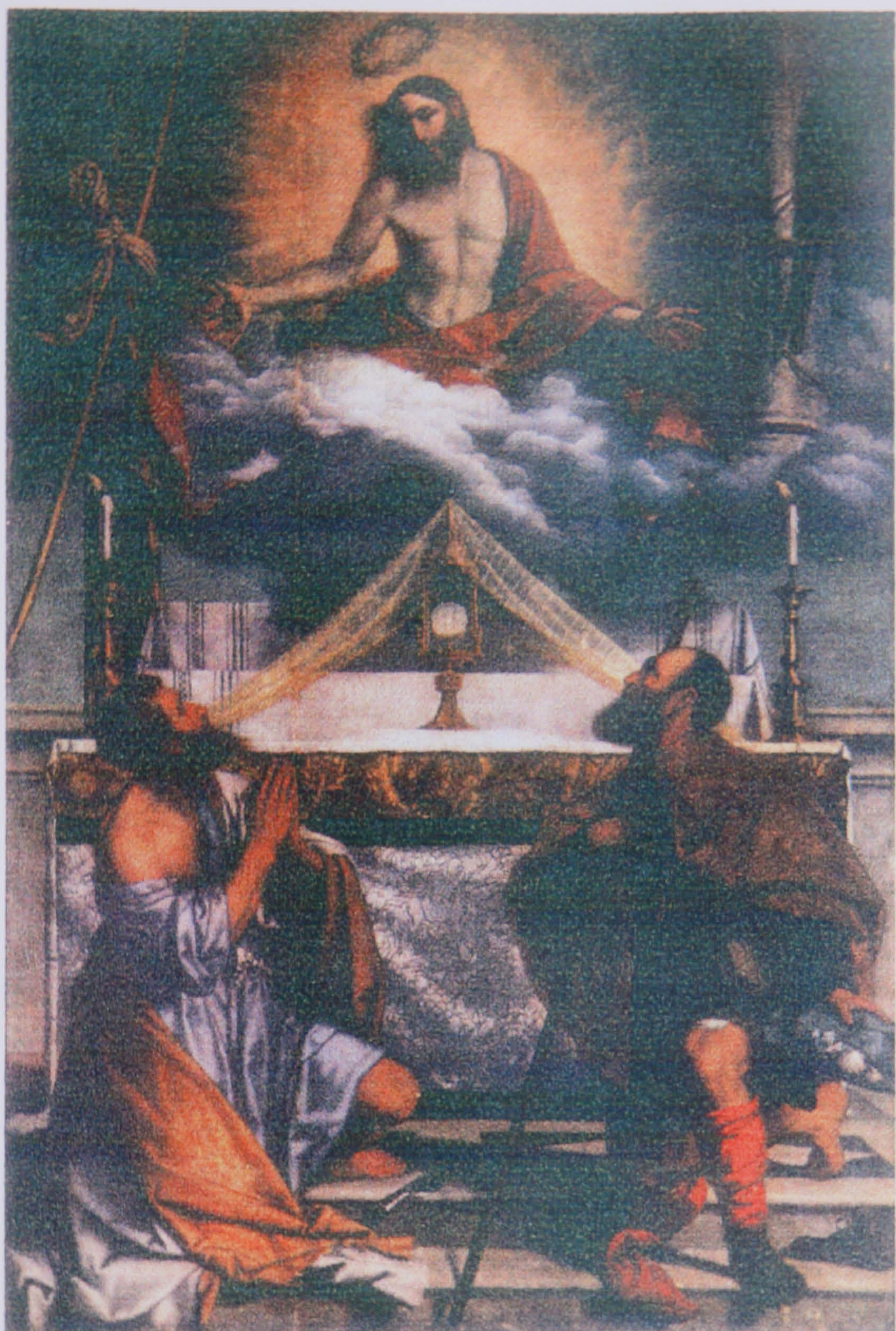


Fig.55

Moretto, Eucharistic Christ with Sts. Roch and Bartholomew (San Bartolomeo Apostolo, Castenedolo), 1545.



Fig.56 Caravaggio, Madonna of Loreto (Sant' Agostino, Rome), 1603-1606.